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ENGLISH COLLECTORS
OF
BOOKS & MANUSCRIPTS
(1530-1930)

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ENGLISH COLLECTORS OF
BOOKS & MANUSCRIPTS

(1530-1930)

AND THEIR MARKS OF OWNERSHIP

by

SEYMOUR DE RICCI

*Sometime Sandars Reader in Bibliography
in the University of Cambridge*

SANDARS LECTURES

1929-1930

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AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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NOTE

The present volume needs no preface. It is the exact reproduction (with a few added details and the necessary bibliographical apparatus) of four lectures delivered at Cambridge in November 1929.

The author is glad of this opportunity to express his gratitude to the staff of the University Library, of the Fitzwilliam Museum and of the University Press for many acts of courtesy and much valuable assistance. He is also much indebted to the late E. Gordon Duff, who taught him whatever he knows about older English bibliography.

As he is the first foreigner to have delivered a Sandars lecture, the author hopes that his readers will not judge too harshly any errors and omissions which may have escaped his pen.

PARIS

January 1930

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE subject of these lectures may seem trifling and even irrelevant. If I had attempted to draw a sketch of the history of book-collecting in England from the year 1530, or even to condense in as few words as possible the biography of England's more notable bibliophiles, the object of my labours would possibly appear as more clearly intelligible. But why concentrate our efforts on marks of ownership? Why tackle a most interesting bibliographical problem—the history and causes of the variations of taste in book-collecting—by one of its smallest and most insignificant aspects? Why lose sight of the broader aspects of science for the sake of apparently unworthy minutiae? A recent experience—if I may be allowed to bring in personal reminiscences—will, I hope, make clear my plan and explain my intentions.

A few months ago, a distinguished American scholar, writing a book on the library of one of Petrarch's contemporaries, the humanist Coluccio Salutati, called on me in Paris and asked me if I could help him to trace any unrecorded books annotated by the learned fourteenth-century scholar. I gave him what scanty information my library and bibliographical notes enabled me to supply and he was about to leave my rooms, when he added quite

casually: "If by any chance you happen to run across one of Coluccio's books, you can in many cases tell it straight away, by the presence on the first page, in the upper right-hand corner, of two numerals separated by the word *carte* [leaves] in a small and neat semi-gothic hand".

As he spoke, I seemed to focus gradually in my memory the distinct vision of a manuscript in my own library. I went to a book-case in the next room and took down from the shelves a manuscript of Florus, with the tell-tale inscription on the title-page and with numerous early marginal notes, a certain number of which my American visitor immediately recognized to be unquestionably in the hand of Coluccio Salutati. The careful notice which this scholar had taken of an apparently insignificant detail had thus enabled him to add to his store some new material of scientific importance.

Over a century ago, Horace Walpole wittily insisted that the pedigree of a work of art was certainly on a par with that of a race-horse. Books and manuscripts have likewise pedigrees, and in many cases the establishment of these pedigrees is founded on the study of hardly noticeable marks of ownership. Is it not time that some kind of an attempt should be made to set these marks down in print and even to reproduce in facsimile those which may seem to present the greatest general interest?

To the uninitiated, one manuscript seems very much like another manuscript: one old book resembles greatly any other copy of the same old book. The constant handling of printed and written

material awakens gradually the eye to subtle differences between individual books and manuscripts. The experience thus acquired is akin to that of the expert print-collector or the specialized philatelist. The bibliographer's ideal would be to compel each and every volume to tell its own history; the clues by which this goal may in many cases be attained would not displease the mind of the modern reader of mystery-fiction, and the brain of an ideal bibliographer, tracing the pedigree of a manuscript, works not infrequently in the same grooves as the ideal detective of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

It may not be amiss to classify here the principal clues by which the history of a book may be ascertained, proceeding from the outside of the book to the inside, from the binding and cover to the contents, from the fly-leaves to the title-page and colophon-leaf.

First of all let us examine the binding: in most catalogues, a binding is merely described as "old" or "contemporary". Now it only takes a little experience and observation to date a binding within much narrower limits. The date of an English binding may always be stated, allowing for very small chances of error, with an approximation of not more than thirty years. In a carefully worded description the words "English red morocco binding, about 1700-1730" are already in themselves a valuable clue. Whenever a binding is signed or may be definitely ascribed to a given artist, the fact should be carefully noted, as individual collectors have always been apt to have their favourite

binders. The Earl of Oxford, for instance, went to Elliot and Chapman, and Sir John Thorold, about 1830, was unwise enough to monopolize the services of that second-rate artist Richard Storr of Grantham.

Other collectors dictated to binders their preference for a particular style of binding: Ireland's "green livery" was well known to the bibliophiles of 1810; Charles Lewis seldom used his vellum doublures, save in books bound for the Holford library. Lord Pembroke's dull red morocco is familiar to many lovers of early-printed books.

It is obvious that armorial bearings, stamped on the covers, give an immediate clue to the early owner of a volume. A very useful help to the identification of such bearings is Cyril Davenport's *English Heraldic Bookstamps* (London, 1909, 4to), a collection which, however, is very far from complete. A few years ago, Messrs Ellis of New Bond Street had brought together and catalogued a large series of books in English armorial bindings, the description of which contains much new material supplementary to that gathered by Davenport.

Nor are marks of ownership confined to coats-of-arms. On many volumes we find the owner's name stamped in full, e.g. Edward Gwynn, in the early seventeenth century; on many more, his initials, usually very difficult to identify. Crests and emblems, generally stamped on the back, have to be identified and memorized: the Fountaine elephant, the Pearson bird, the Essex initials SX, and many others to be mentioned hereafter.

The reverse of the upper cover and the opposite fly-leaf are the happiest hunting-grounds of the pedigree-chaser. It is there, when the modern binder and, worst of all, the modern bookseller have not erased them—for pedigrees, however welcome to the scholar, have occasionally their drawbacks for trade purposes—that early owners have been scribbling for over two centuries their names, their historical and critical remarks, the date, place and price of purchase, the cost of mending and binding or re-binding, the shelf-mark in old or new libraries, the sale-number in an ancient or modern auction, anything and everything that may assist the bibliographer of to-day in his historical identifications.

All this should be preserved and deciphered: do not remove from the binding a dirty little label with a numeral pasted on the back or the side; but rather examine it and decide from its size and form (circular or diamond-shaped) whether it leads us to the Bindley or the Heber sale catalogues: learn to recognize at a glance the Sunderland and Ashburnham shelf-marks, the Britwell pencilled numbers and the blue-pencil numerals of the Barrois sale.

If we attempt to classify these inscriptions with a little more detail, we may, I think, divide them as follows:

A. Shelf-marks, which in older libraries usually consist of three numerals or letters indicating the case, shelf and number on shelf.

B. Accession-numbers, referring presumably

to an accession catalogue, which might possibly in some instances still be extant. The Phillipps manuscripts and the Spencer volumes in the Rylands library are all marked with a numeral indicating the order of accession to the library.

C. Sale-numbers, either pasted-on labels or written on the book with the auctioneer's pencil.

D. Book-plates, a subject on which a considerable literature exists.

E. Signatures or initials of the owner, occasionally marked with a stamp or die (e.g. Richard Heber) or replaced by an armorial stamp (as in many Roxburghe books).

These signatures are not infrequently accompanied by remarks concerning the acquisition or collation of the books.

As regards the acquisition, a book-lover will usually state the source of purchase, the date, and often the price. For the latter he may use a cipher, usually obtained by the substitution of a letter for each of the nine numerals and a tenth for the zero, these ten letters forming a word which is the collector's mark or trade-word. A well-known London bookseller uses the word TWICKENHAM, T standing for 1, w for 2, and so on, M meaning zero, so that 320 will be written *iwm*. Whenever we meet with books in which such a cipher is used, the bibliographer's first task must be to identify the code-word, an achievement which with a little practice is seldom extremely difficult.

To the price of the book, the collector often adds the price of the agent's commission, usually 5 or

10 per cent. if the book has been secured in an auction-sale, and, if necessary, the price of the binding. It is to be regretted that so many collectors have omitted to make note of all these particulars. We cannot be too grateful for the diligence in that respect of such great bibliophiles as Michael Wodhull, Richard Heber and W. H. Miller, whose manuscript entries have preserved, for future generations, the individual history of many thousands of volumes.

For the last two centuries the collector's first care, on securing a volume, has been to collate it and to find out if it was complete. This enabled him to pencil on the fly-leaf the words "collated and perfect", often abbreviated to "c. & p." and usually followed by the collector's initials or signature. It takes but a little visual memory to recognize at a glance the distinctive handwriting of such inscriptions, from the broad and powerful scrawl of Thomas Rawlinson, about 1720, to the minute pencilling of Cecil Dunn Gardner, 150 years later.

Other collectors were so strongly interested in their purchases that they scribbled on the fly-leaves remarks as to the contents and merits of each volume. Hanrott, for instance, pens careful bibliographical notes, while William Beckford's caustic comments are pencilled in a somewhat spiteful hand. Others, again, enter a reference to some standard bibliographical work, such as Panzer, in volumes from the Kloss library, or, in early English books, to the pages of Ames and Herbert.

In many cases the bookseller's prices are still inscribed at the beginning or end of the volume and the bibliographer soon learns to recognize the elder Pickering's clean figures or the collation marks of the firm of Quaritch.

Similar records occasionally adorn—or shall we say deface—the title-page; but usually they are confined to a signature or, as in the case of Narcissus Luttrell, to a purchase price.

Marks of ownership are seldom found in the body of the volume and instances like the Roxburghe stamp on the verso of the title or the initials of the owner, as in the Bliss books, added to the signatures of certain quires, remain sporadic.

Marginal notes and corrections, when clearly to be ascribed to a given author, may also assist in the tracing of a pedigree.

The literature of the subject is not a large one and only one satisfactory attempt has yet been made even to write a history of book-collecting in England.

Our knowledge of mediaeval English libraries owes much to the indefatigable labours of Montague Rhodes James and Sydney C. Cockerell.

W. Y. Fletcher's book on *English Book-Collectors* (London, 1902, 8vo) is extremely useful, but hardly technical enough for the student's purpose. For the biography of individual collectors, the *Dictionary of National Biography* is an inexhaustible mine of information, the lives of connoisseurs and scholars having received the particular attention of the editors.

Several attempts have been made in the last centuries to condense information respecting the manuscripts existing in British libraries. As early as 1600, an eminent bibliographer, Sir Thomas Bodley's friend, Thomas James, described the Oxford and Cambridge manuscripts in his *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis* (London, 1600, 4to).

A century later a more ambitious attempt was made by Edward Bernard in his *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum* (1697), one of the most notable achievements of early English bibliographers.¹ In a stately folio volume, he contrived to print full catalogues of the manuscripts in all the Oxford libraries, shorter notices of those in Cambridge—where his plan seems to have been encouraged with hesitation—and lists, varying in quality, of manuscripts belonging to various cathedrals and schools and to over fifty private individuals; for many of the latter, Bernard's account is the only one in print and therefore of great value to scholars.

When G. Haenel, in 1830, printed his *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, he thought so much of Bernard's work that he endeavoured to supplement him, rather than to duplicate his lists.²

1 Edward Bernard, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti cum indice alphabetico* (Oxford, University Press, 1697, Fol.). In 1850, Sir Thomas Phillipp's printed an interesting table showing the changes of ownership of some of the libraries catalogued by Bernard (*Catalogus MSS. Magnae Britanniae*, I, pp. iii–iv).

2 G. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum qui in bibliothecis Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae M., Hispaniae, Lusitaniae asservantur, nunc primum editi* (Leipzig, 1830, 4to). For the United Kingdom, see cols. 777–910.

Dibdin's *Bibliomania*,¹ *Bibliographical Decameron*,² and *Reminiscences*,³ as also Clarke's *Repertorium bibliographicum*,⁴ supply us with first-hand information on all the great collectors of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, supplemented, in a somewhat fragmentary manner, for the Victorian period by Bernard Quaritch's *Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*.⁵

W. C. Hazlitt's *Roll of Honour*⁶ is a curious list of over 15,000 names, with hardly a fact inserted to make it really useful.

Many private collections of manuscripts are described in the invaluable series of *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* issued since 1870.

The catalogues of English book-sales, the earliest of which is that of Dr Lazarus Seaman (31 October 1676), form a most valuable source of information and one which has never been sufficiently made

1 T. F. Dibdin, *Bibliomania*, new edition (London, 1842, 2 vols. 8vo). Reprinted in 1 vol. (London, 1876, 8vo).

2 T. F. Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron* (London, 1817, 3 vols. 8vo).

3 T. F. Dibdin, *Reminiscences of a Literary Life* (London, 1836, 2 vols. 8vo).

4 William Clarke, *Repertorium bibliographicum; or some account of the most celebrated British libraries* (London, 1819, 8vo).

5 B. Quaritch, *Contributions towards a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors* (London, 1892-1921, 14 parts in 1 vol. 8vo).

6 W. C. Hazlitt, *A Roll of Honour, a calendar of the names of over 17,000 men and women who throughout the British Isles and in our early Colonies have collected manuscripts and printed books* (London, 1908, 4to). Had first appeared in a much shorter form in Quaritch's *Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*, part XII (1898).

use of. The best series in existence is that belonging to the British Museum, of which a most useful catalogue has been compiled by Harold Mattingly and I. A. K. Burnett.¹ This great collection of over 8000 English catalogues is especially valuable because it contains the auctioneers' own files of several important firms: Messrs Sotheby, from 1744, then started as S. Baker, to the present day, Messrs Evans (1812-45), Wheatley (1825-37), Lewis (1825-52), Southgate (1825-68), and Puttick and Simpson (from 1846).

The last years of Messrs Sotheby's and Puttick's catalogues are preserved at the auctioneers' offices, where students may consult them. Likewise, Messrs Christie (from 1760) and Hodgson (from 1807) have kept on their premises the whole files of their catalogues and have always been willing to allow them to be used for purposes of research. All the above-mentioned catalogues are fully annotated with prices and purchasers' names.

For catalogues not included in the above series, it is often very difficult to locate a copy: outside the British Museum, there does not seem to exist a large collection of English catalogues. The Cambridge and Oxford libraries are somewhat disappointing in that respect and the only two good series in America, those in the New York Public Library and the Grolier Club, although fine, are far from complete; nevertheless, for American auctions, they are by far the best of their kind.

¹ *List of catalogues of English book sales, 1676-1900, now in the British Museum* (London, British Museum, 1915, 8vo).

There is unfortunately no index to these thousands of catalogues and it is often a matter of long hours of tedious labour to trace in them the appearance or appearances of any given volume. To the best of my knowledge, this has only been attempted for two classes of books: for Shakespeare Quartos by Miss Bartlett and Mr Pollard,¹ and, for Caxton's impressions, by Blades and by myself.

Since 1887, however, *Book Prices Current* (or, since 1903, the parallel publication *Book Auction Records*) have given us full accounts of all the modern sales and *American Book Prices Current*, since 1895, fulfil the same office for American auctions.

From 1887 to 1913, *Book Prices Current* summarize each sale separately, with indexes for each year and three general indexes for decennial periods (1887-96, 1897-1906, 1907-16); since 1914, following the example of the American publication, the sales of each year are condensed into one alphabetical series, a system which combines with certain drawbacks several distinct advantages.

Manuscripts and autographs are included in *American Book Prices Current*, but not in the English series.²

May I add as a warning that, in spite of the care with which these volumes are edited, the serious

¹ H. C. Bartlett and A. W. Pollard, *A Census of Shakespeare's plays in quarto* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1916, 4to).

² For English autograph sales, 1914-1922, see *Autograph Prices Current*, I-VI (no more published).

student should always check them by referring to the actual catalogues of the sales?

Another source of information, hardly less valuable, would be the priced catalogues issued by booksellers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, if only such catalogues were anywhere available for reference in really complete files. Unfortunately, none of the great British libraries seems to have preserved them systematically and the copyright laws seem to have omitted insuring their registration and filing. The British Museum collections are very inadequate in that respect and it is to be hoped that attempts will be made to remedy such a serious deficiency.

It would be highly interesting to locate the files of each bookseller's own copies of his catalogues, like the Payne and Foss series belonging to the Grolier Club.¹

¹ I have just had brought to my notice the existence of a very interesting pamphlet by the late Hampton L. Carson, *Pedigrees in the ownership of law books, an address delivered before the Philobiblon Club, January 28, 1915* (Philadelphia, 1916, 4to).

CHAPTER II

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

WHO was the first English book-collector? When do we discover the earliest trace of a library of rare and curious books brought together as such? If we are not mistaken, it seems likely that the true collector's spirit centralized round manuscripts some time before printed books. And, without going so far back as the Middle Ages, we feel that Elizabethan England already knew of several actual book-collectors. The Reformation contributed to the dispersion of many old monastic libraries, the remnants of which formed the nucleus of several important gatherings of manuscripts, all now absorbed in great public repositories.

The oldest of these manuscript hunters was doubtless England's first antiquary, John Leland, who, as early as 1533, obtained a royal commission to search the libraries and muniment-rooms of all cathedrals, monasteries and colleges, a task on which we find him engaged for fully ten years. On 15 July 1536 he wrote to Cromwell asking for permission to collect manuscripts for the King's library, alleging that the Germans "do send daily young scholars hither that spoileth them and cutteth them out of libraries, returning home and putting them abroad as monuments of

their own country". Leland's *Itinerary*, of which the manuscript is in the Bodleian, was printed by Thomas Hearne in 1710, in nine volumes.

Whether Leland collected for himself—as seems likely—or only for the King, does not appear to be known. His papers were dispersed and have passed into various hands; they are now mainly to be found in the Burton manuscripts at Oxford, and in the Cotton manuscripts at the British Museum. A number of the manuscripts removed from monasteries by Leland are in the "Old Royal" collection at the British Museum.

England's first great bibliophile seems to have been the celebrated archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker (1504–1575), who will ever be remembered in Cambridge as the benefactor of Corpus Christi College. It is hardly conceivable that a man who played such a prominent part in the ecclesiastical affairs of the sixteenth century, should also have found time to publish a number of scholarly works and to collect a great library, of which the larger portion is still preserved at Corpus Christi College. Nothing is more instructive than the letter he received in 1560 from John Bale, when Parker asked him to save from destruction as many manuscripts as he could rescue from the suppressed monasteries.

As early as 1600, a list of Parker's manuscripts was printed by Thomas James; a second catalogue was published in 1722 by William Stanley and a third in 1777 by James Nasmith; an adequate catalogue has at last been published by Dr Montague

Rhodes James, to whom we owe the elaborate descriptions of so many Cambridge manuscripts.¹

William Lambarde (1536-1601), the author of *A Perambulation of Kent* (1576), the earliest of all county histories, collected some books and manuscripts which have remained until the present day in the possession of his family at Sevenoaks. A portion of them have recently come on to the market.²

Several fine Caxtons bear the printed stamp "Robert Hedrington his bookes, 1577". We would like some gifted investigator to give us reliable information about this collector.

Dr John Dee (1527-1608) had a number of manuscripts, studied recently by Dr M. R. James.³

The large library of the historian William Camden (1551-1623) apparently went to Westminster Abbey, although his manuscripts were bequeathed to his friend Sir Robert Cotton.

1 Thomas James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis* (London, 1600, 4to), pp. 70-98, reprinted by E. Bernard, *Catalogi librorum MSS.* (1699), I, 3, pp. 131-46; William Stanley, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi* (London, 1722, 4to); James Nasmith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi in Academia Cantabrigiensi legavit. . . Matthaeus Parker* (Cambridge, 1777, 4to); M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1912, 2 vols. 4to); W. Y. Fletcher, *English Book-Collectors* (1902), pp. 21-30; E. C. Peace, "Matthew Parker" in *The Library*, VI (1905-1906), pp. 209-28.

2 W. G. Lambarde's sale at Hodgson's, 18 June 1924, lots 504-643. See also Nichols, *Biblioth. Typogr. Brit.*, I (1780-1790), pp. 493-532.

3 *Lists of manuscripts formerly owned by Dr John Dee* (Oxford, The Bibliographical Society, 1921, 4to); cf. also W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 45-9.

Sir Henry Spelman (1564?-1641), the historian of early English law, likewise owned many books and manuscripts bearing his signature on the title-page. They were dispersed in two sales¹ and are to be found in various libraries.

The famous Bridgewater library, probably the oldest large family library in the United Kingdom, was started about 1600 by Sir Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere and Viscount Brackley (1540?-1617), appointed Lord Chancellor by James I. His third wife, the Dowager Countess of Derby, was a noteworthy protector of literature. His son, the first Earl of Bridgewater, considerably increased the library, many books of which bear on the fly-leaf his bold signature "Brackley".

When the third Duke of Bridgewater died unmarried in 1803, his collections passed to his nephew the Marquess of Stafford, first Duke of Sutherland, who died in 1833, leaving them in turn to his second son, Francis Leveson-Gower. The latter then assumed the patronymic of Egerton and, in 1846, was raised to the peerage as Earl of Ellesmere.²

About 1800 the library was rearranged by the Rev. Henry John Todd, who had the books re-

1 Sir Henry S., 28 November 1709; part II, 26 [October 1710?]; many passed from the Macro collections into the hands of Hudson Gurney and Dawson Turner. See Brit. Mus., Harl. 2356, 2392, 3241, 6360; Sloane, 1613, 1615, 1785; Add. 24342, 25384-25385; Stowe, 2, 62, 63; Chester Beatty, 22; Phillipps MSS. 4769, 8252, 8960, etc.

2 This explains why from 1803 to 1833 the Bridgewater library and pictures are so often referred to as the Stafford gallery. Cf. W. Clarke, *Repertorium bibliographicum* (1819), pp. 359-71.

bound and eliminated the duplicates in three sales by auction (27 April, 8 June 1802 and 26 May 1804). A later librarian was the notorious forger and Shakespearean scholar, John Payne Collier, who fraudulently altered a number of documents in the Bridgewater muniment room and printed in 1837 a catalogue of some of the rarer books in the library.¹

In 1917 the Bridgewater books, with all the manuscripts and family papers, were sold to the late Mr Henry E. Huntington and are now part of his great library at San Marino, California, with the exception of a certain number of volumes he discarded as duplicates.²

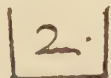
Volumes from the Bridgewater library are easy to tell. They all contain a large armorial book-plate of the nineteenth century and a small printed shelf-label. The bindings, mainly in dull brown calf of the early nineteenth century, bear the Bridgewater arms stamped in blind.

The library contained a number of bound volumes of tracts and pamphlets. On the fly-leaf of such volumes as have remained intact an early

1 J. Payne Collier, *A catalogue bibliographical and critical of early English literature forming a portion of the library at Bridgewater House, the property of the Rt. Hon. Lord Francis Egerton, M.P.* (London, 1837, 4to). With the exception of ten articles, either omitted or considerably altered, the whole of this catalogue is reprinted in the extremely bad book by the same author, *A bibliographical and critical account of the rarest books in the English language alphabetically arranged which, during the last fifty years, have come under the observation of J. Payne Collier* (London, 1865, 2 vols. 8vo).

2 When the Bridgewater library was announced for sale a few copies of a descriptive pamphlet were circulated by Messrs Sotheby.

seventeenth-century hand has written a list of the contents. On the upper right-hand corner of the title of each tract in the volume the same hand has written a numeral surrounded by three lines



Example of a note in a Bridgewater volume
of tracts belonging to S. de Ricci.

forming a square open at the top. This idiosyncrasy enables us to recognize Bridgewater pamphlets, even when they have been re-bound separately.

To the same period belong several owners of private libraries whose names deserve to be placed on record, not perhaps as collectors of rare books, but because volumes from their libraries are still to be met with and are always interesting to scholars.

John, Lord Lumley (1534?-1609), owned a large library, every book and manuscript of which bore his signature on the title; he had inherited the library of his father-in-law, Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel (1511?-1580), containing many books from the library of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (1489-1556).¹

Lumley gave eighty-four volumes to Cambridge in 1598 and in 1599 forty to the newly-founded Bodleian. When he died, his library was purchased by James I for Henry, Prince of Wales, and soon passed into the "Old Royal" library, given in 1753 by George II to the British Museum, where

¹ On Cranmer's books, now mainly in the British Museum and at Lambeth, cf. E. Burbidge in Quaritch's *Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*, part I (1892); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 18-20, who also has good chapters on H. Fitzalan (pp. 30-4) and on Lumley (pp. 52-8).

most of Lumley's books are still preserved. Some are in the Harsnett Library at Colchester, but nearly all those which appeared on the market during the nineteenth century were British Museum duplicates.¹

Another interesting signature is that of "William Cecill", Lord Burghley (1520-1598), the famous Elizabethan statesman. His manuscripts and papers are still preserved at Hatfield, but his books were dispersed by auction on 21 November 1687, and are to be found in various collections.²

Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632), can hardly be called a book-collector, although he owned a few fine early manuscripts and a number of very scarce Americana, long preserved at Petworth, and sold recently by his descendant, Lord Leconfield.³

Some thirty years ago W. C. Hazlitt attempted to list the twenty or thirty volumes then known bearing the autograph of the poet Gabriel Harvey (1545-1630?), Spenser's friend and the celebrated adversary of Thomas Nash.⁴

Likewise, the literary man cannot fail to be interested by the inscription "Sum Ben. Jonsonii",

1 On the "Old Royal" library, cf. E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, 1 (London, 1859, 2 vols. 8vo), pp. 416-25; *idem*, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (London, 1870, 8vo), pp. 153-71.

2 In the Sunderland sale was his copy of the 1516 Ariosto, now at Chantilly. On Lord Burghley's books, cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 38-43.

3 His sale at Sotheby's, on 23 April 1928, produced for 172 lots the great sum of £63,732.

4 W. C. Hazlitt, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part XIII (1899).

with the motto "Tanquam explorator", on books from the library of Shakespeare's friend, the dramatist Ben Jonson (1573?-1637).¹

¹ See, for instance, in the British Museum his copy of Florio's *Montaigne* (1603). Lists of Ben Jonson's books have been given by W. C. Hazlitt, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part XIII (1899), and much more fully by C. H. Herford and P. Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, I (Oxford, 1925, 8vo), pp. 250-71.

Tanquam Explorator

Ex Ben: Jonson
L. S. S.

Ex Dom. Sutherland

V. C.
V. C.
Latta expinno
Amico optime
Ben. Jonsonio.
ab autore. /

Inscriptions by Ben Jonson and John Selden on a copy of the latter's *De Dis Syris* (1617) in a Britwell sale (23 March 1925, no. 555).

CHAPTER III

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE history of the Bodleian Library, so ably placed on record by the Rev. W. D. Macray,¹ shows us that the great Oxford institution has gradually absorbed quite a number of important libraries of the Elizabethan era and the following century.

Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), the founder, in 1598, of the Bodleian, seems to have been as much a librarian as a collector; but nevertheless he succeeded in gathering for his library, either by purchase or as gifts from friends, some 1300 manuscripts, now numbered Bodleian 1840-3133. As every scholar knows, Mr Falconer Madan has given to the thirty and odd thousand manuscripts in the Bodleian a consecutive numbering, starting with number 8717; for the numbers 1-8716 he has very sensibly retained the numbering adopted in 1697 by Edward Bernard, in the first volume of his *Catalogi*.

In 1629 the collection of manuscripts, mainly Greek, belonging to the Barocci family at Venice was brought to London for sale by an English bookseller; it was purchased by William, third Earl

¹ W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1890, 8vo). The first edition appeared in 1868. Cf. also Strickland Gibson, *Some Oxford Libraries* (Oxford, 1914, 16mo).

of Pembroke, and presented to Oxford (MSS. Bodl. 1-246); a few manuscripts which he kept until his death were then purchased by Oliver Cromwell, who gave them to the Bodleian in 1654 (MSS. Bodl. 276-299).

William Laud (1573-1645), archbishop of Canterbury, beheaded in 1645, gave 1300 manuscripts to the Bodleian (MSS. Bodl. 300-1601) and many others to Lambeth.¹ Another benefactor of the library was Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), the donor in 1634 of MSS. Bodl. 1602-1839, which he had inherited from Thomas Allen.² When he died in Paris his books were sold and a catalogue was printed; a number were purchased by George, Earl of Bristol († 1676), and re-sold by auction in London (19 April 1680); but many remained in France and are to be found in the Bibliothèque nationale, the Sorbonne, and elsewhere.³

Other large series of manuscripts were bequeathed by the jurist and archaeologist John Selden (1584-1654),⁴ namely MSS. Bodl. 3134-3490, and by the famous antiquary Elias Ashmole

1 W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 66-72.

2 Catalogue by W. D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum MSS. Bibl. Bodleianae pars ix, codices a v.c. Kenelm Digby, eq. aur., anno 1634 donatos complectens* (Oxford, 1883, In-4).

3 Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 439-41; L. Delisle, *Sir Kenelm Digby et les anciens rapports des bibliothèques françaises avec la Grande-Bretagne* (Paris, 1892, 12mo), and in English in *The Library*, v (1892-1893), 1-15; E. Chatelain, "Quelques épaves de la bibliothèque de Kenelme Digby" in *Revue des bibliothèques*, 1 (1891), pp. 77-80; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 105-7.

4 W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 85-91.

(1617-1692), whose 2000 manuscripts are now numbered Bodl. 6616-8465 and were fully catalogued in 1845-1866 by W. H. Black. We must not forget that in 1677 Ashmole had already given to the University of Oxford his famous cabinet of curiosities and antiquities incorporating the entire museum which John Tradescant junior (1608-1662) had inherited about 1637 from his father.¹

At the end of the seventeenth century the library of the University of Oxford contained nearly 9000 manuscripts, the largest collection then existing in England.

Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1631) was the most notable collector of manuscripts of the reign of James I. He gave great assistance to historians like Speed, Camden and Bacon, attempted in 1622 to buy the Barocci library of Venice (which, as we have seen, went to Oxford), and lived to see his library confiscated in 1629 by the King, mainly for political reasons. After his death it was returned to his son and in 1700 became public property. In spite of the fire which damaged it badly in 1731 (out of 958 manuscripts, 212 were destroyed or seriously injured), it was still important enough, in 1753, to be considered one of the constituent parts of the newly born British Museum.²

1 W. H. Black, *A descriptive, analytical and critical catalogue of the manuscripts bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole* (Oxford, 1845, 4to), with an *Index* by W. D. Macray (1866).

2 Thomas Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Oxford, 1696, Fol.); J. Planta, *A catalogue*

The greatest art collector of the Elizabethan period, Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel (1586-1646), dubbed by Horace Walpole the "Father of Vertu in England", was also a collector of books and manuscripts. In 1636 he purchased at Nuremberg the valuable library of Albrecht Dürer's friend, Bilibald Pirkheimer, including several books illuminated by Dürer himself. Some time after Arundel's death, his grandson, the sixth Duke of Norfolk, presented a few of his manuscripts to the College of Arms.¹ But the bulk of his grandfather's library he presented in 1667, apparently at the instigation of John Evelyn, to the Royal Society, to which His Grace had given rooms in Arundel House. The subsequent history of this collection is hardly to the credit of the learned body on which it was bestowed. The manuscripts were sold in 1831 to the British Museum where they now form a separate collection catalogued in 1834 by J. Forshall.²

of the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library deposited in the British Museum (London, 1802, Fol.).

J. P. Gilson, "The Library of Henry Savile, of Banke" in *Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, ix (1908), pp. 126-210, has shown that many Cottonian manuscripts had belonged to Henry Savile (1568-1617), of whose library we have two manuscript catalogues (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35213 and Harl. 1879).

On the Cotton library, cf. also E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, I (1859), pp. 426-34; *idem*, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870), pp. 48-152; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 61-6.

¹ W. H. Black, *Catalogue of the Arundel MSS. in the Library of the College of Arms* (London, 1829, 8vo).

² *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, New Series, I, part 1: The Arundel Manuscripts (London, 1834,

The printed books did not fare as well. They had been badly taken care of and many were in a very poor condition indeed. In 1873 the Society, oblivious of their noble origin, sold the bulk of them for a very small sum to Bernard Quaritch, who re-sold them singly with considerable success. What the Society had retained was sold by auction at Sotheby's on 4 May 1925, after the British Museum had selected a few items it lacked. Thus ended a famous collection.¹

Two other libraries of the reign of James I deserve to be mentioned here, not because their owners were persons of any particular distinction or even bibliophiles *stricto sensu*, but because considerable portions of these libraries have come down to us in somewhat romantic circumstances.

Little seems to be known about Frances Wolleston beyond the fact that on 24 May 1856 (not 1586 as the catalogue states by a curious misprint), Messrs Sotheby sold "the remains of a library partly collected during the reign of King James the First". In it were to be found a number of very scarce poetical and dramatic booklets of the Elizabethan period, practically all uncut and unbound, stitched as issued, but sadly damaged by Fol.), describing 550 manuscripts; cf. index in part III (1840).

¹ Cf. E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870), pp. 172-202; Michael Kerney, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part I (1892). Kerney was the first to recognize in several of these books illuminations by the hand of Albrecht Dürer, a discovery made since by several other scholars. See also R. Farquharson Sharp, *Catalogue of a collection of early printed books in the library of the Royal Society* (London, 1910, 8vo).

damp, decay and possibly rats and mice. A number of these books bore on the title-page the signature "Frances Wolfreston". Henry Huth, Sir William Tite and Christie-Miller shared the spoils; everything that could be saved was entrusted to Bedford's skill and several of these pieces now adorn great collections.¹

About the same time the Ishams of Lamport must have acquired a similar but even more valuable group of Elizabethan books which were re-discovered in a garret at Lamport Hall in 1867 by Charles Edmonds and sold in 1893 to the Britwell library, a small portion going to the British Museum.² These books were also uncut and several were damaged by age. They were carefully mended by Pratt and handsomely bound by him in yellow morocco, with the Britwell arms. They contained a number of unique books of the late sixteenth century and such treasures as the 1599 *Venus and Adonis* bound with the *Passionate Pilgrim*, a booklet for which Mr Huntington paid £15,100 in the 1919 Britwell sale.³

¹ Mattingly and Burnett, p. 273, have failed to ascertain the name of the owner of this sale.

² Charles Edmonds, *A Lamport Garland from the Library of Sir C. E. Isham, Bart.* (London, Roxburghe Club, 1881, 4to); R. E. Graves, "The Isham Books" in *Bibliographica*, III (1897), pp. 418-29.

³ Strange to say, this enormous price led to the discovery at Longner Hall, near Shrewsbury, the property of Richard Francis Burton, of a closely similar volume, hardly less valuable and presenting some unique features. This was catalogued for sale at Sotheby's on 23 March 1920, but was sold privately, before that date, to Mr H. C. Folger of New York, for a price believed to be about £8000. What remained of the Lamport library after 1893

The name of Edward Gwynn, which we occasionally meet with stamped in gold on the upper covers of early seventeenth-century calf bindings, deserves to be rescued from oblivion as the owner of at least one volume of paramount importance: the bound collection of nine Shakespearean Quartos, discovered in Germany in the library of Count Goertz-Wrisberg, purchased by Marsden J. Perry, of Providence, and since obtained by Mr H. C. Folger at a price which is one of the highest ever paid for a printed book. All Shakespearean scholars know that the discovery of this volume was the starting-point of long investigations, by W. W. Greg and Alfred Pollard, on the spurious dates of several Shakespeare Quartos.

Another name which should be dear to all collectors is that of Anthony Munday's friend, Humfrey Dyson, Notary Public about 1640, whose bold upright signature is found on the titles of some extremely rare early English books.¹

A number of Dyson's books eventually passed into the hands of Richard Smith (1590-1675), Secondary of the Poultry Compter and one of the earliest collectors of Caxtons and Wynkyn de Wordes. Richard Smith's sale (15 May 1682) seems to have been quite a bibliographical event.

was sold at Sotheby's on 17 June 1904 (lots 1-355), as the "library of a gentleman in the country".

¹ Cf. W. C. Hazlitt, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part XIII (1899); R. L. Steele, "Humphrey Dyson" in *The Library*, I (1910), pp. 144-51. Dyson had catalogued his library in a number of small note-books, six of which, according to E. G. Duff, are still in existence (they are mentioned in the R. Smith sale catalogue).

He owned eleven Caxtons of which one was bought by the Earl of Peterborough, two others being knocked down to Dr Francis Bernard.¹

Historians of the Civil War and Commonwealth can hardly sing too highly the praises of the London bookseller George Thomason (1600?–1666) who, from 1640 to 1661, collected nearly 23,000 ephemeral tracts, pamphlets, news sheets and other broadsides mainly of a political or satirical nature and bound them, in chronological order, in 2000 volumes. After various vicissitudes, the collection was purchased in 1762 by George III for the British Museum. Hence their old name, the “King’s Tracts”. Every scholar knows the two handsome volumes of the catalogue published in 1908 by G. K. Fortescue.²

Thomason was a true bibliographer; on the title of every pamphlet he carefully noted the actual day of publication. One of his rivals, Narcissus Luttrell (1657–1732), seems to have been more of

¹ W. C. Hazlitt, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part xi (1898); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 93–6; E. G. Duff, “The Library of Richard Smith” in *The Library*, viii (1907), pp. 113–33. Part of Richard Smith’s manuscript catalogue is in the Bodleian; the remainder was in Richard Heber’s sale (xi, no. 77), subsequently belonged to Dr Routh and is now in the British Museum, Add. MS. 21096. Cf. also Phillipps MS. 8439 (= Heber xi, no. 1128, 21).

² *Catalogue of the pamphlets, books, newspapers and manuscripts relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth and Restoration collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661* (London, 1908, 2 vols. 8vo); see also F. Madan, “Notes on the Thomason collection of Civil War Tracts” in *Bibliographica*, iii (1897), pp. 291–308; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 96–103; X., “The will of George Thomason” in *The Library*, x (1909), pp. 34–43.

a collector for, as a rule, he noted only the prices he paid: anything from a penny to sixpence or, on rare occasions, a shilling. His taste ran to poetry and he secured many valuable examples of Elizabethan literature. After his death, his collections passed to Edward Wynne of Chelsea and when on his death his library was sold (6 March 1786), they were divided about equally between Dr Richard Farmer and James Bindley.

Luttrell's price-marks, occasionally accompanied by his initials, are so characteristic that when once seen they will always be recognized:

pretium — 1^s — N. L. S.

George Steevens.

Signatures of Narcissus Luttrell and George Steevens on the title-page of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* (1609). San Marino, Henry E. Huntington library.

Luttrell's diary (1678-1714), which is now at All Souls College, Oxford, was printed in 1857, but another diary (1722-1725), written in Greek letters, has not, I think, been printed, nor is it worthy of such an honour (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 10447). A large number of Luttrell's books found their way to Britwell, and a collection of some 600 ballads and other broadsides, formerly in the Bindley collection and afterwards at Stowe, was purchased in 1849 by the British Museum.¹

¹ W. C. Hazlitt, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part XIII (1899); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 139-43.

To any English scholar there is hardly a more congenial name than that of Samuel Pepys, the diarist (1633-1703). As the owner of no less than nine Caxtons, he would be worthy of mention here if he had not been generous and far-sighted enough to bequeath his library complete to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where it is preserved to this day, in the same book-cases and in the same order as Pepys left it more than two centuries ago.¹

The library of John Evelyn (1620-1706) did not fare so well as that of Pepys. A portion of it is still in the diarist's family at Wotton, in Surrey, but many volumes have gone astray in the course of the last two centuries. The finest bear the Evelyn arms and monogram, or the monogram alone.²

Sir Godfrey Copley, Bart. (1640?-1709), a friend of Sir Hans Sloane, collected at Sprotborough Hall, Doncaster, a fine library, which was increased by his descendants and sold in 1925 by the last owner, Lord Cromwell.³

About the same time was formed by James Sotheby the interesting and valuable library of manuscripts and handsome early books long

1 C. H. Hartshorne, *The Book Rarities in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1829, 8vo), pp. 217-269; H. B. Wheatley in *Bibliographica*, 1 (1895), 155-62; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 113-22; *Bibliotheca Pepysiana, a descriptive catalogue of the library of Samuel Pepys*, 1-II (London, 1914, 4to) [no more published]; S. Gaselee, *The Spanish books in the library of Samuel Pepys* (Oxford, The Bibliographical Society, 1921, 4to).

2 W. C. Hazlitt, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part XIII (1899).

3 Sale at Sotheby's, 23 November 1925.

preserved at Ecton Hall, Northamptonshire, and recently sold by Colonel H. G. Sotheby.¹

We may also mention here Dr Francis Bernard's library (sold 4 October 1698), containing a wonderful array of medical books and no less than sixteen Caxtons, which sold for four or five shillings apiece.²

The above-mentioned collectors are only a small selection among the many English bibliophiles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The choice might easily have been made more comprehensive; I fancy, however, that most of the more significant names have been quoted and that students will easily fill in the blanks according to their individual tastes and preferences.

¹ Sale at Sotheby's, 24 July 1924.

² Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 397-402; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 111-13.

CHAPTER IV

HARLEY AND SUNDERLAND

IT was about the year 1700 that several members of the British nobility became simultaneously seized by a violent desire to collect incunabula: William, second Duke of Devonshire (1672-1729), Thomas, eighth Earl of Pembroke (1696-1733), John, first Duke of Roxburghe (1670?-1741), Charles, third Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722), Robert Harley (1661-1724) and his son Edward (1689-1741), the first and second Earls of Oxford.

They are the first great collectors of early-printed books, not only in England but in Europe. For the first time in history, large sums of money were expended on the gathering of incunabula and, to the present day, we are still to a certain extent dependent on the admirable stores of early volumes accumulated by these wealthy pioneers.

Of the five collections they formed, only one, the Devonshire library, not the most important, is still in existence and even that one is far from complete. Taking them in the chronological order of their dispersion, the first on the list is the Harleian library.

As Queen Anne's minister, Robert Harley, starting about 1705, brought together in a few years a library of immense value, containing at

least 6000 manuscripts and over 40,000 printed volumes. Amongst other collections purchased by him, are the enormous series of broadsides, title-pages and typographical fragments accumulated by the "shoemaker and biblioclast" John Bagford (1650-1716). Copiously cursed by Dibdin and duly listed by William Blades among the "Enemies of books", John Bagford has perhaps been maligned. From an examination of his scrap-books, now in the British Museum (Harleian MSS. 5914-5954, 5956-5988), he seems to have gathered his materials, not so much by mutilating complete volumes, as by saving from destruction imperfect copies, fragments and stray leaves from bindings. The valuable books he discovered were by no means destroyed, but sold by him to Harley and to other collectors.¹

One of Bagford's most liberal patrons was John Moore (1646-1714), bishop of Norwich and afterwards of Ely, a notable preacher and enthusiastic bibliophile. On his death, his library of some 30,000 books and 1800 manuscripts was offered for £8000 to the Earl of Oxford, who declined it. George I, on the instigation of Lord Townshend, then bought it for 6000 guineas and presented it to the University of Cambridge. It is the real nucleus of the present University Library and some of the choicest books in Cambridge were contained in it,

¹ Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, "John Bagford and his collections" in *Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, IV (1898), pp. 185-201, and in his *English Book-Collectors* (1902), pp. 129-37; C. Davenport, "Bagford's Notes on Bookbinding" in *Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, VII (1904), pp. 123-59.

such as the famous series of Caxton's earliest poetical impressions.¹

From 1703 Harley employed the services of a learned antiquary, Humphrey Wanley (1672-1726), who in 1709 began cataloguing the Harleian manuscripts, and soon became Keeper of the library. His diary, from 1715 to 1726, preserved in the British Museum (Lansdowne MSS. 771-772), is our chief source of information on Harley's purchases and it is a great pity that it has not been printed in full.

After Robert Harley's death (1724), his only son, Edward Harley, the second Earl of Oxford, continued the library, which he notably increased by purchases at the various sales of Thomas Rawlinson. Edward Harley died in 1741.² The library then contained 7639 manuscripts, 14,236 charters and more than 50,000 printed books. His widow, the only daughter of the Duke of Newcastle, sold the books, in 1743, to the bookseller Osborne for £13,000, considerably less than they had cost to bind, and the manuscripts in 1753 to the nation for only £10,000.

Books and manuscripts were uniformly bound by Thomas Elliott and Christopher Chapman in

1 Cf. E. Bernard, *Catalogi librorum MSS.* (1697), II, 2, pp. 361-99; C. H. Hartshorne, *Book Rarities in Cambridge* (1829), pp. 1-173; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 125-9.

2 On the history of the Harleian library, cf. E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870), pp. 203-46; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 150-6; G. F. Barwick, "Humphrey Wanley and the Harleian Library" in *The Library*, III (1902), pp. 24-35 and 243-55; "The Formation of the Harleian Library, Further Notes", *ibid.*, I (1910), pp. 166-71.

calf, morocco and Russia leather, with a characteristic gilt border easily recognizable and well known to bibliophiles under the title of "Harleian bindings".

Little need be said about the manuscripts, which form one of the most valuable collections in the British Museum. A first catalogue was printed in two volumes in 1759, a second and fuller edition in four volumes in 1808-1812.¹

The printed books were described by William Oldys in the five volumes of the *Bibliotheca Harleiana* (1743-1745), with a preface by Dr Johnson, who is credited with a not inconsiderable share in the actual compiling of the catalogue. This catalogue, it must be confessed, is entirely unworthy of the library: the books are classified by subjects, but very roughly and in a very unsatisfactory manner. The descriptions of the more valuable items are often far too vague and, for the few details they give, quite unreliable. Worst of all, the printing of the catalogues extended over three years and many items not sold on the publication of the earlier volumes are repeated in the fifth, without any intimation of the fact. As there were many duplicates in the library, it is often impossible to tell if a given description in volume v refers, or not, to the actual copy of the same book described in volume i or ii.

¹ [Wanley, Casley and Hocker], *A catalogue of the Harleian collection of manuscripts* (London, 1759, 2 vols. Fol.); [Planta, Shaw, Douce and Nares], *A catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1808-1812, 4 vols. Fol.). A few sheets of a preliminary catalogue were issued in 1744, appended to the first volumes of *The Harleian Miscellany*.

Harley's collection of Caxtons was unrivalled: but whether he really owned some sixty-five items, as described in the catalogue, or only about fifty, as suggested by a careful elimination of duplicates, is a matter for speculation.

The library was particularly strong in early editions of the Bible, in first editions of the classics and in books printed on vellum. It seems to have been to a great extent the basis of Maittaire's *Annales typographici* and of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*.

The Harleian library was not dispersed by auction, but sold by instalments at fixed prices.¹ Osborne seems to have experienced great difficulties in disposing of such a vast accumulation of books: for nearly twenty years his catalogues, usually labelled with the more or less fictitious name of some collector (Kynaston, Webbe, Cromwell Mortimer, etc.), are full of Harleian books. These he sold right and left, throughout Europe, and there is hardly a great library where a few Harleian volumes are not to be found: may I quote, on the Continent, the libraries of Copenhagen (Baron de Thott's bequest), Goettingen (Von Dube collection) and Wolfenbüttel (rare Bibles)? In England, Lord Dysart, of Ham House, still preserves the volumes collected by his ancestor Lionel, fourth

¹ The Harleian tracts and pamphlets were sold by Osborne in five catalogues on 2 March 1747 (?), 1 April 1747, 2 June 1747, 1 October 1747 and 1 February 1748. A selection of these are reprinted by W. Oldys in *The Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1744-1746, 8 vols. 4to), 2nd ed. by T. Park (London, 1808-1813, 10 vols. 4to).

Earl of Dysart (1707-1770). Another purchaser was Bryan Fairfax (1676-1749), the commissioner of customs; his library was bought entire by Francis Child, of Osterley Park, whose granddaughter was the mother of the fifth Earl of Jersey; it was finally dispersed in 1885 by the seventh Earl, as we shall see hereafter. The Cambridge libraries contain a number of Harleian volumes, the finest being those at St John's College, purchased directly from Osborne by Dr Whalley, Master of Peterhouse.¹ Likewise the present Duke of Rutland's library at Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire, still contains some fine volumes purchased by Maittaire, for the third Duke, out of the Harleian library.²

The great library of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722), contained only a few manuscripts and some 20,000 printed books: it was particularly strong in incunabula (many being printed on vellum), in Bibles, in first editions of the classics and in Continental literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A small portion of the volumes were bound in morocco, the bulk in calf.

Sunderland was a lavish and even extravagant buyer. When he died, in 1722, one of his competitors expressed the hope that at last "any gentle-

1 At St John's are also a number of valuable books bequeathed by the antiquary Thomas Baker (1656-1740), who having lost his fellowship in 1716, signed to the end of his life "socius ejectus". Cf. C. H. Hartshorne, *Book Rarities in Cambridge* (1829), pp. 323-461.

2 Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 341-4. Some remains of the Harleian library are said to have been sold on 12 November 1816. I have not identified the catalogue.

man be permitted to buy an uncommon old book for less than forty or fifty pounds"! Sunderland's books are easily recognizable by the bold shelf-marks written in ink on the verso of the upper cover in the upper left-hand corner.¹

In 1872, the Duke of Marlborough had printed a summary catalogue in a fat quarto volume of the library at Blenheim.² The shelf-marks given in this

B6:98

46. a. 17

Shelf-marks (old and recent) of the Sunderland books. From *Geographi Graeci minores* (1698–1712), belonging to S. de Ricci.

catalogue (which was drawn up by the Rev. H. O. Coxe and of which fifty copies only were printed) are *not* the old Sunderland shelf-marks in ink, but more recent shelf-marks added beneath them in pencil, giving, as was customary, the number of the case, the letter of the shelf and the number of the volume.

About 1880, an act of Parliament, passed on the initiative of Lord Cairns, removed many barriers hindering the sale of family collections. One of the first to avail himself of these possibilities was

¹ On the Sunderland library, cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 316–24; E. Edwards, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries* (1865), pp. 368–91; M. Kerney, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part II (1892); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 165–9.

² *Catalogue of the books in the library at Blenheim Palace, collected by Charles, third Earl of Sunderland* (Oxford, University Press, 1872, 4to), 50 copies only.

the Duke of Marlborough and, early in 1881, Messrs Ellis were offering for sale the Sunderland library at a price of £20,000. Baron James de Rothschild, of Paris, was actually considering the purchase when he suddenly died and the negotiations fell through. Lord Crawford was also tempted and Bernard Quaritch actually tried to raise the money but failed. The library was therefore sold by auction in five memorable sales (1 December 1881, 17 April, 17 July and 11 November 1882, 10 March 1883, plus a sale of imperfect books on 1 June 1883), the 13,858 lots of which brought the enormous sum of £56,581, about £33,000 being the share of Bernard Quaritch. All the books purchased in the Sunderland sale by that great bookseller were provided by him with a specially engraved book-plate stating their origin.¹

The Roxburghe library was a much smaller one but it contained at least one gem: the celebrated "Valdarfer Boccaccio", the sale of which, in 1812, created such a sensation.

More important, though rather by its quality than by its size, was the Pembroke library. It hardly contained anything but incunabula, selected with great judgment and an obvious desire to combine the earliest monuments of typography with the first editions of the classics. All the volumes were uniformly bound in dull red morocco, with a heavily gilt back and a very narrow dentelle round the sides, usually with small fleurons in the angles. Pembroke books are quite easy to tell from their

¹ A few stray Sunderland items are to be found in the Duke of Marlborough's sale at Sotheby's, 1 July 1920 (lots 1-251).



Book bound for Lord Pembroke, belonging to the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

shelf-mark written in pale red ink on the upper right-hand corner of the first fly-leaf and from the instructions to the binder which the collector has pencilled in capitals on the first page of the book: these instructions usually consist in the lettering he wished to see placed on the label of the back.

The choicer portion of the Pembroke library was sold by Sotheby on 25 June 1914, the remainder on 15 March 1920: in the first sale, the most extensive buyers were H. E. Huntington and C. Fairfax Murray; in the second, Sir R. Leicester Harmsworth.¹

Continental booksellers and private sellers of books were not long in hearing of the enthusiasm and liberality of the noble English bibliophiles whose names we have just placed on record. Germany, France and especially the Netherlands were visited by Harley's and Sunderland's agents, who not only attended The Hague and Paris book-sales but were also ready at any moment to purchase libraries of deceased scholars or impoverished members of the Continental nobility.

The dispersal of several important French libraries stimulated in new directions the efforts of British bibliophiles. Practically all the Groliers and other fine books in the sales of Petau and Mansart (The Hague, 23 February 1722), Count Loménie de Brienne (London, 28 April 1724) and Bishop Esprit Fléchier (London, 1725, catalogue not in British Museum) were bought by English collectors. About the same time, possibly, between

¹ On the Pembroke library, cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 332-40; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 137-9.

1710 and 1715, the bulk of the books and manuscripts collected in Normandy and other parts of France by Nicolas-Joseph Foucault appeared on the English market. There is hardly a library in this country where his book-plate is not to be found, although it has never been ascertained exactly when and how his library was sold. The numerous volumes from it, obtained at the time by the Earl of Macclesfield (1666-1732), formed the nucleus of the collections still preserved intact at Shirburn Castle, with the exception of the series of Welsh manuscripts, now at Aberystwyth.¹

About the same time, a friend of Lord Macclesfield, Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676-1753), Master of the Mint, also visited the Continent, staying for several years (about 1714-1718) in France and Italy, collecting books, but far more keen on purchasing works of art of the Renaissance. His library remained at Narford, in Norfolk, until its dispersal by sale (11 June 1902); on the back of most of the older volumes was pasted a diamond-shaped leather label with the Fountaine elephant. Books added to the library, from 1830 onwards, by Andrew Fountaine, Esq. († 1873), bear also the elephant, but stamped on the binding.²

Nor must we forget Sir Thomas Coke, of Holkham, Earl of Leicester († 1759), who, from 1712 to 1718, travelled extensively on the Continent, pur-

¹ E. Edwards, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries* (1865), pp. 325-67.

² The Fountaine manuscripts were catalogued in 1777 by Sir John Fenn, whose unprinted manuscript is in my library; a copy made for Dawson Turner (1859, no. 184) is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 22931).



Book bound in calf for Lord Sunderland, belonging to S. de Ricci

chasing in Italy a number of valuable books and over 600 manuscripts, including many from the Giuseppe Valletta collection at Naples (the rest now in the Oratorian library of that city), from the library of San Giovanni in Verdara at Padua (the remainder now in the Venice Marciana) and the Greek manuscripts of the Giustiniani library at Venice, obtained *en bloc* in 1721.

Coke's library is still preserved at Holkham; it was largely added to by Thomas William Coke, Earl of Leicester (1754-1842), and is one of the most important private collections of books and manuscripts in the United Kingdom, even if a few of the more recently purchased manuscripts have passed five years ago into the Pierpont Morgan Library.¹

This remarkable passion of the British nobility for *éditiones principes* and Caxtons seems to have lasted but a couple of decades. The great libraries so rapidly gathered between 1700 and 1725 remained in the families of their owners, but in most cases were treated with more respect than real interest.

For a revival of bibliomania in the peerage, we shall have to wait till the first years of the nineteenth century.

1 Cf. C. W. James, "Some notes upon the manuscript library at Holkham" in *The Library*, II (1921-1922), pp. 213-37; L. Dorez, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall, Norfolk* (Paris, 1908, Fol.). There is no printed catalogue of the Holkham manuscripts, although one has been compiled by Roscoe and one by Dorez. Fifty copies were issued privately of an album of *Proof impressions of engravings designed to illustrate Mr Roscoe's catalogue of the manuscript library at Holkham* (N.p., 1835, 4to).

CHAPTER V

THE REIGNS OF GEORGE I AND GEORGE II

FROM 1720, till the end of the eighteenth century, book-collecting ceased to be a sport for wealthy noblemen, but continued to be the favourite hobby of the well-to-do scholar. The annals of the sale-room record, in every decade, the dispersal of a number of fine libraries, each one enriched with the spoils of preceding collections. Although most of their owners played no prominent part in the life of the country, their names deserve to be kept from oblivion. It is to the industry of these men, to their patience in sifting out the refuse of three centuries, that we owe the preservation of practically all the rare books, now the treasured possessions of public and private collections. Each of these libraries of eighteenth-century scholars had its purpose and its individuality. With a little care, the relics of a number of these bibliophiles can still be recognized and the examples given here could, without doubt, be considerably extended and completed by any worker who would keep his eyes open in the particular direction in which these lectures are pointing. Nearly all the identifications recorded hereafter were the result, not of planned research, but of casual discovery; it is much to be desired that systematic work may increase their number and test their accuracy.

At Trinity College, Cambridge, are preserved

the extensive collections of manuscripts formed by Thomas Gale (1635-1702) and his son Roger Gale (1672-1744), many items of which had belonged to Patrick Young, or "Junius" (1584-1652), librarian to James I and Charles I.¹

Oxford owes much to Thomas Rawlinson (1681-1725), the eldest son of Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Lord Mayor of London and an omnivorous bibliophile, a very "leviathan of book-collectors", as Dibdin enthusiastically called him. His sixteen sales (4 December 1721—4 March 1734), of which the complete set of catalogues is only known to exist in the British Museum and the Bodleian, included the largest library as yet sold in England and, with the Heber library, the largest sold to the present day. He must have owned over 200,000 volumes, many of great interest and scarcity. Part xvi (4 March 1734) describes the manuscripts numbering in all 1020.

One of the biggest purchasers at these sales was his younger brother, Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), the eminent topographer, who bequeathed to the Bodleian his 5700 manuscripts and many valuable printed books; what remained were sold by auction in London (29 March 1756 and 3 March 1757); another purchaser at Thomas Rawlinson's sales seems to have been Nathaniel Crynes, who gave many books to the Bodleian and who bequeathed in 1745 to Saint John's College, Oxford,

¹ Cf. R. Sinker, *The Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1891, 4to); M. R. James, *The Western manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, III (Cambridge, 1902, 4to), pp. v-xiii.

a number of fine volumes including some beautiful Caxtons.¹

Thomas Rawlinson was one of the first collectors of sixteenth-century English literature and his books are easily recognized by the mark "c. & p."

C. & P. /

Collation mark by Thomas Rawlinson. From Caxton's *Life of Our Lady*. Pierpont Morgan Library (*half size*).

written across the fly-leaf in a bold black scrawl, not unlike the hand of Richard Farmer, for which it should not be mistaken by the hasty investigator.

Richard Rawlinson's bequest to the Bodleian included the valuable diaries, correspondence, and other papers of that eminent editor of English chronicles, Thomas Hearne (1678-1735). His library (sold by Osborne, 16 February 1736) contained many valuable books of which he had compiled a catalogue; the autograph manuscript was given to the Bodleian (MS. 33648) by the late George Dunn; some portions were printed by Beriah Botfield.²

In 1735 the Bodleian had received by bequest the books and manuscripts of the historian Thomas

¹ Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, "The Rawlinsons and their Collections" in *Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, v (1900-1901), pp. 67-86; cf. also his *English Book-Collectors* (1902), pp. 176-83 and 186-95; W. D. Macray, *Catalogus codicum... Ricardi Rawlinson* (Oxford, 1862-1900, 5 vols. 4to).

² *Bibliotheca Hearneiana, excerpts from the catalogue of the library of Thomas Hearne* (London, 1848, 8vo). Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 172-6.

Tanner (1674-1735), bishop of St Asaph, including the papers of Archbishop Sancroft.¹

Richard Mead (1673-1754) was not only a celebrated physician, but also a notable bibliophile; when his books were sold (18 November 1754, 7 April 1755), several were purchased for France and secured for the library of Claude Gros de Boze, an early instance of Continental buyers appearing in English sales.²

A much larger library than that of Richard Mead had been collected by another physician, by several years his senior, Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), who had accumulated some 50,000 printed books and over 4000 manuscripts. Although he had expended on his library and other collections at least £50,000, Sloane instructed his executors to offer them to the nation at a nominal price of £20,000. The offer was accepted, Montague House was purchased in 1754 and, by combining the "Old Royal", the Cotton and the Harleian manuscripts with Sir Hans Sloane's collections, the great library of the British Museum was created, a century and a half after the Bodleian, and several decades after the Cambridge University library, created as early as 1424, had become a great collection, by the accession of Bishop Moore's books.

1 Cf. Rev. A. Hackman, *Catalogus codicum... Thomae Tanneri* (Oxford, 1860, 4to).

2 Cf. Austin Dobson, "The Bibliotheca Meadiana" in *Bibliographica*, 1 (1895), pp. 404-18; A. F. Sieveking, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part XIII (1899); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 160-4. Mead's Greek manuscripts were sold privately to A. Askew (see *infra*).

The Sloane manuscripts were catalogued, in 1782, by that indefatigable index-maker Samuel Ayscough in two volumes containing the 5000 manuscripts then in the British Museum.¹ It may be well to remind students that Ayscough's numbering is still in use and that the manuscripts he describes are actually reckoned in the Museum as the first 5000 numbers of the series of "Additional Manuscripts" now numbering over 40,000 items.

In addition to the Sloane manuscripts, Ayscough's catalogue includes (Add. MSS. 4101-4478) the valuable historical papers and letters bequeathed by Dr Thomas Birch (1705-1766), and some 500 miscellaneous manuscripts purchased on various occasions.

Another collector of the period was a certain Palmer, the owner of a *Bibliotheca Palmeriana*, about which information would be extremely welcome since it contained such important items as the celebrated Hamilton Gospels, on purple vellum, now in the Pierpont Morgan library. It bears the erased inscription: *Bibliotheca Palmeriana* 1747.²

The eminent bibliographer and classical scholar

¹ The Sloane MSS. are Add. MSS. 1-4100, 50. S. Ayscough, *A catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the British Museum hitherto undescribed* (London, 1782, 2 vols. 4to); J. Forshall, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Sloanianae* ([London, c. 1845?], Fol.), 224 pp., nos. 1-1100 (discontinued and only exists in proof-sheets); E. J. L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1904, 8vo); cf. also, on the Sloane library, E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, 1 (1859), pp. 439-49; *idem*, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870), pp. 247-312; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 143-7.

² The same inscription occurs in Hamilton MS. 269 (now Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 33244), in Phillipp MS. 7401 (= 7792)

Michael Maittaire (1668–1747), a French protestant refugee, a friend of Harley, Sunderland and Pembroke, had also a large library of his own which supplied him with materials for his *Annales typographici* (1719–1741) and his history of the Estiennes (*Stephanorum historia*, 1709). It was sold by auction (21 November 1748) and the sale lasted forty-four evenings.

His friend Joseph Ames (1689–1759), the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, is well-known to all bibliographers by his *Typographical Antiquities* (1749), the first attempt ever made to list scientifically all books printed in England before the year 1600. For this remarkable work, he not only drew upon the vast stores of the Harleian library, but also depended largely on his own collection, which was sold after his death (London, 20 February 1760). His books are not infrequently met with in English libraries: they are usually bound in red morocco, somewhat like the Harleian volumes; many are marked, on the first fly-leaf, with the word “Perfect” very carefully penned in black ink, the lettering imitating the printer’s type.

Like Bagford, Ames had formed a large collection of title-pages, also now in the British Museum.¹

and in MS. 179 of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. A Mr Palmer was an extensive buyer in the sale of Dr Charles Bernard. The owner of the library might possibly be identical or connected with the Charles Palmer who, in 1696, inherited the bulk of Lord Castlemaine’s fortune, or again with Sir Joshua Reynolds’s brother-in-law, John Palmer of Torrington, Devonshire (†1770), the husband of the accomplished author of the *Devonshire Dialogue*.

¹ Cf. A. W. Pollard, “The Ames Collection of Title-pages” in *Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, VII (1904), pp. 160–2.

To the same circles as Ames, belonged Maurice Johnson of Spalding (1688–1755), librarian of the Society of Antiquaries (which he helped to re-organize) and founder of the “Gentlemen’s Society” at Spalding, one of the oldest provincial literary and historical associations in England. He was a great friend of Stukeley and Ducarel. His papers on local topography still seem to exist in his family at Blundeston, Suffolk, at Ayscoughfee Hall, Spalding, and in the library of the Spalding Society. What remained of his books were rediscovered at Ayscoughfee Hall, about 1860, by William Bradshaw, but again forgotten, until they came to light in 1898 in a local sale at Spalding. Of course, they were “slaughtered”, to use the terms of the trade. A few items saved from the wreck, including some fine early manuscripts, were sold at Sotheby’s (24 March 1898). A volume containing six Caxtons was offered to a public library, for £20, by the representative of the family, who, when better informed, succeeded in selling it for a hundred times that price, three items going to the British Museum and three to Britwell; the British Museum also secured a quarto volume containing a dozen poetical tracts (several unique), printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

These old English books seem to have been purchased by the Johnsons in the early sixteenth century; for there is little doubt that two Caxtons at Cambridge, bearing the signature N. Johnson, and five others, also in Cambridge (among Bishop Moore’s books), with the name of R. Johnson,

M.D., at the beginning, also come from the same family.¹

Yet another friend of Ames was the distinguished numismatist Martin Folkes (1690-1754), whose very extensive library was sold on 2 February 1756 and following days (a forty-day sale!). He may be mentioned here on account of his curious mark of ownership, a large fleece of gold, repeated on every panel of the back of his bindings. This has not infrequently been mistaken for the much smaller and daintier "Toison d'or" of the French seventeenth-century bibliophile Longepierre, whose books are so highly valued by French connoisseurs.² James West (1704-1773) was treasurer of the Inner Temple and President of the Royal Society; his collections of pictures, coins, prints and antiquities were famous in England; the sale of his library (29 March 1773), which produced nearly £3000, was a great event; although the prices now seem ridiculously low, Horace Walpole declared that they were outrageous. Most of his thirty-six Caxtons, which included beautiful specimens from the Harleian library, sold at five or ten pounds apiece. His manuscripts were sold privately to Lord Shelburne, first Marquess of Lansdowne, and are now among the Lansdowne manuscripts in the British Museum.³

West's greatest rival in the collecting of early English books was a Southwark chandler by the

1 Cf. W. C. Hazlitt, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part XIII (1899).

2 Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 195-7.

3 Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 203-7.

name of John Ratcliffe. He is said to have become interested in book-collecting on seeing so many valuable printed leaves used for wrapping the articles of his trade. Anyhow, he soon became more ambitious and his library grew to be one of the choicest of his day. Every Thursday, he received in his shop other collectors, such as Dr Askew, James West, Dr Crofts and Topham Beauclerk. In his sale (27 March 1776) were over fifty Caxtons, including several from the West sale in 1773. There was also in his sale a valuable manuscript catalogue (in four volumes) of his own library. It would be most interesting to trace its present ownership.¹

Another great collector of the same generation was Dr Anthony Askew (1722-1772), who travelled on the Continent and whose achievements in the medical field are quite eclipsed by his proficiency as a classical scholar. As a book-collector, he is said to have attempted to secure a complete series of all the Greek classics ever published; he purchased privately R. Mead's Greek manuscripts, the papers of Dr Taylor and some fine early classical *codices* from the library of the Maffei family. His sale (13 February 1775) was a great success and was attended by the Paris bookseller De Bure, who bought for the Duc de La Vallière and other French collectors (including the King of France).

His manuscripts, most of which were bound in Russia leather, in an easily recognizable style, were sold on 7 March 1785; the 600 lots of the sale also included the printed books with manuscript annotations. Very few items were bought by the

1 Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 199-203.

trade: among the buyers may be noted the British Museum, the Bodleian, Cambridge University, Michael Wodhull, Gough, Astle, Mason, Burney, Lord Lansdowne, Burrell, Monro and Wright. The total of the sale was a little under £1300.¹

The medical profession is represented by yet another great collector, Dr William Hunter (1718–1783), an eminent surgeon and the leading obstetrician of his day. The great collections which he bequeathed to the University of Glasgow, where they now form the Hunterian Museum, comprise, not only extensive medical and natural history series, but also an admirable cabinet of coins, one of the finest ever formed, and a stately array of manuscripts and early books of every description. He secured many valuable items from the sales of Gaignat (Paris, 1769), West (1773), Askew (1775), Ratcliffe (1776), Rev. Caesar De Missy (18 March 1776) and Robert Hoblyn (2 March 1778). There is said to have been a seven days' sale of Hunter's duplicates in 1777, but I have never run across the catalogue.

The Hunterian library contains 649 manuscripts, recently catalogued by P. H. Aitken, and a choice collection of incunabula, Caxtons and early classics, including the celebrated Aldine Plato on vellum: there is as yet no printed catalogue.²

1 Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 219–21.

2 For the manuscripts see G. Haenel, *Catalogi* (1830), cols. 786–98; J. Young and P. H. Aitken, *A catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of the Hunterian Museum* (Glasgow, 1908, 4to). For the printed books see the inadequate accounts in J. Laskey, *A General Account of the Hunterian Museum* (Glasgow, 1813, 8vo), and in W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 140–4.

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III

THE kings of England had, from the end of the fifteenth century, always shown a certain taste for fine books, especially for the handsomer volumes of their own day. King Henry VII went so far as to order from the Paris publisher Anthoine Vérard a copy printed on vellum of every book issued from his shop. These are now in the British Museum, together with the other books and the fine manuscripts of the "Old Royal" library, commonly called "Codices Regii", which were presented in 1753, by George II, to the British Museum.¹

A new library was started in 1765 by King George III, when he purchased for £10,000 the valuable collection of incunabula (with a few manuscripts) brought together by Joseph Smith (1682-1770), the British Consul at Venice. Smith had himself printed a short list of his books about

¹ The manuscripts are described by D. Casley, *A catalogue of the manuscripts of the King's library* (London, 1734, 4to); a handsome new catalogue answering every requirement of modern science has been published recently by Sir George F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum, catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921, 4 vols. Fol.); cf. M. R. James, "The Royal Manuscripts at the British Museum" in *The Library*, II (1921-1922), pp. 193-200.

1735 (reprinted 1737) and a full catalogue in 1755.¹

George III continued adding to his library for nearly fifty years, buying with considerable discrimination at all the notable sales of the period; he secured the best books at the West, Ratcliffe and Askew auctions, built up a magnificent collection of English plays, and kept on right up to the Roxburghe sale (1812). His usual agents were Messrs Nicol, the booksellers, but he seems to have obtained from the Continent some extremely valuable incunabula by the assistance of one Horn of Ratisbon, a great despoiler of the German convents.

After his death, the whole of his library, with the exception of half-a-dozen items retained for Windsor, was "given" to the British Museum in 1826 by King George IV, although it does not seem unlikely that the King obtained some kind of a compensation from the Lords of the Treasury.

The "King's library", as it is now called in contradistinction to the "Old Royal" library, given by George II, now occupies in the British Museum

¹ *Catalogus librorum rarissimorum ab artis typographicae inventoribus . . . excusorum*, N.p., n.d. (Padua, Comino, c. 1735), 12mo, 227 items (50 copies only printed), reissued with a few additions (248 items), N.p., n.d. (Venice, Pasqualigo, c. 1737), 12mo; *Bibliotheca Smithiana* (Venice, 1755, 4to), an interesting catalogue in which are reprinted the prefaces of many first editions of the classics. After having sold his books to George III, Smith continued collecting; his second library was sold in London, 25 January 1773. According to Wanley's diary (MS. Lansdowne 771, fol. 84), Smith had sold, for £1500, to Lord Sunderland a collection of manuscripts; no group of any such importance appeared in the Sunderland sales. Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 184-6.

the long gallery used as an exhibition room for books and manuscripts. There is a sumptuously printed but hastily compiled catalogue of which copies are seldom met with.¹ The manuscripts are accurately described in vol. III of Sir G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson's *Catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*. Of the valuable library still preserved at Windsor there is no printed catalogue.

We will now return to the innumerable sales of the later eighteenth century; nearly all are interesting, and some amount of unfairness is unavoidable in our selection, even if we wish to give anything but a mere list of names and dates.

The Rev. Thomas Crofts (1722–1781) had accumulated the finest library of old Italian books yet seen in England; his sale (7 April 1783) also contained a number of fine French chivalry-romances.² Books from his library bear the initials ^{T C}_E in small and neat capital letters written in ink in the centre of the verso of the upper cover.

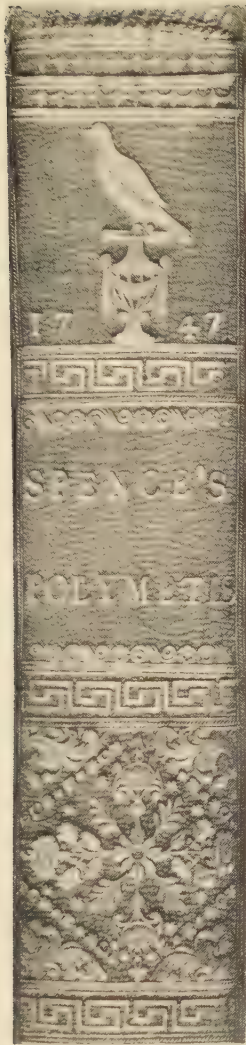
T C
E

Initials of the Rev. T. Crofts, from *Spinulae opera* (1563) belonging to S. de Ricci.

Major Thomas Pearson (1740?–1781), whose books were sold 14 April 1788, specialized in Elizabethan literature; he had a fine collection of old ballads from the Harleian library and the sale

¹ *Bibliothecae Regiae catalogus* [by Sir F. Barnard and others] (London, 1820–1829, 5 vols. Fol.); cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 179–90; B. Botfield, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1 (1834), pp. 236–46; E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870), pp. 464–86.

² Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 429–38.



Back of a binding made for Major Pearson, belonging to
Messrs Birrell and Garnett

of James West. His books bear on the back a curious crest showing a bird on the capital of a column.¹

Dr Charles Chauncy (1709–1777) had formed a valuable collection of books, nearly all in choice condition and in handsome bindings. He was one of the earliest bibliophiles to pay attention to literary manuscripts or presentation copies.

I do not know the present location of his 1704 *Tale of a Tub* copiously annotated by Thomas Swift; but the British Museum now owns Chauncy's presentation copy to Florio of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, which came up again for sale, in 1815, in the Duke of Grafton's auction.

Dr Chauncy's books went to his brother Nathaniel († 1790), after whose death they were sold (15 April 1790).²

Thomas Allen's first sale (1 June 1795) contained some very fine English and French books and a few manuscripts; a second sale (8 April 1799) was not so important.³

George Mason's extensive library, sold in 1798–1799, was particularly strong in early English literature.⁴

Of a similar character, was the important collec-

¹ W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 492–7; Fr. Clarke, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part IV (1893); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 256–8.

² Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 425–8. Several Pope MSS. from the Chauncy collection were sold at Sotheby's on 30 July 1889.

³ Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 393–6; M. Kerney, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part III (1892).

⁴ Sales on 24 January, 16 May and 27 November 1798, 25 April 1799 and 20 January 1807. Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 479–85.

tion formed by the Rev. Richard Farmer (1735–1797), Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He was particularly interested in the minor lights of Elizabethan literature, such as Robert Greene and Nicholas Breton. We have already seen that he secured a large portion of Narcissus Luttrell's collections. He also owned a celebrated volume of thirteen poetical pieces, mainly from the press of Wynkyn de Worde (Farmer sale, no. 6451), which

R. Farmer. *Mr. Best's Copy sold for £ 2 12*
Mr. R. Cliffe *— — — 4.4.0*
Manuscript Catalogue 1795. (first) 7.7.0.

Inscription by R. Farmer in the Pierpont Morgan copy of the *Life of Our Lady* printed by Caxton (*half size*).

went to the Duke of Roxburghe, who broke it up.¹ Farmer's library was sold on 7 May 1798. Books from his collection may be identified by his manuscript notes in a bold black scrawl, closely resembling the handwriting of Thomas Rawlinson.

The continuator of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, William Herbert (1718–1795), a retired print-seller and publisher, had accumulated a very large library of sixteenth-century English books which he made use of when republishing Ames (London, 1785–1790, 3 vols. 4to). Every volume

¹ About half of these tracts went to Chatsworth and half to Britwell; the latter are now in the Huntington Library. On Farmer's sale, see W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 447–54; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 235–7.

bore on the title-page his signature often with a reference to the page of Ames, either in the first edition or in his own augmented work. After his death, his library was hastily dispersed by his

Ames p. 121.
WH p. 265.

Specimen of W. Herbert's notes, on the title-page of W. Horman's *Vulgaria* (1519), formerly in the Wilbraham library at Delamere House, Northwich.

nephew, a Bloomsbury bookseller named Isaac Herbert, who issued several catalogues of it in 1795 and 1796. Portions were also sold by auction (10 March 1796 and 21 November 1798). A large number of his books went ultimately to Richard Heber; but there is hardly an English collection in which some specimens of his library are not to be found.

The year 1799 saw two collections, one fine, the other supremely fine, bequeathed to public institutions: an old Etonian, Anthony Morris Storer (1746-1799), a secretary of Lord Carlisle and a leader of fashion, left to Eton College a valuable library containing Caxtons, Aldines, fine extra-illustrated books and a few Shakespeare quartos.

The same year, the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (1730-1799), of Christ Church, Oxford, bequeathed to the British Museum his exquisite collection of books and prints, coins and gems. It is one of the most valuable bequests that the Museum has ever received. The prints are of superlative quality and include some of the finest Rembrandts and Dürers in existence.

The library was not a large one, but every book

was in the choicest condition obtainable. Cracherode never bought any but the finest copies and he was one of the first bibliophiles really to appreciate old bindings, books from the libraries of Grolier and Maioli, and volumes from the De Thou collection, dispersed in 1789, many of which he secured, such as the first Homer; he also had fine Aldines, a number of books printed on vellum, block-books, Caxtons, *editiones principes* of the classics and some excellent early English Bibles. No list has ever been printed of the Cracherode bequest, and it is certainly a great pity; but the individual items are easy to identify from the collector's manuscript catalogue preserved in the British Museum.¹

As we have seen, in the course of the eighteenth century, side by side with Continental books, incunabula, Aldines, Estiennes and Elzevirs, the British collector became gradually more and more interested in early English literature, first in Caxtons and subsequently in the productions of the Shakespearean era.² The three earliest collectors of Shakespearean literature seem to have been David Garrick, Charles Jennens and Edward Capell.

The great actor David Garrick (1717-1779) had brought together an important dramatic library, the more valuable portion of which was a collection of plays which he bequeathed to the

1 Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 11-18 and 24-64; E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870), pp. 417-22; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 221-6.

2 On the history of the various collections relating to Shakespeare, cf. the introduction to H. C. Bartlett and A. W. Pollard, *A Census of Shakespeare's plays in quarto* (1916).

British Museum. The series of early plays in that great library have as a solid basis the Garrick plays and those collected by King George III. Garrick's collection was a very valuable one and rumours, not very definite I must confess, declare that he "rescued" a certain number of his rarest items from Dulwich College, to which they had been given by the Elizabethan actor Edward Alleyn (1566-1626). The Garrick plays, as everybody knows, were first made use of—and how brilliantly he did it—by Charles Lamb.

The remaining portion of Garrick's library was sold on 23 April 1823.¹

Charles Jennens (1700-1773), of Gopsall, Atherstone, Leicestershire, Handel's friend, a not very enlightened Shakespearean scholar, collected at the end of his life a fine set of Quartos which he bequeathed to William Penn Assheton Curzon, the father of the first Earl Howe.² In 1907 they were offered by Sotheby for sale by auction (21 December 1907), but the bulk of them were sold privately, before the sale, to Mr H. C. Folger of New York.

Edward Capell (1713-1781) was appointed in 1737 deputy-inspector of plays, a position which gave him many opportunities to study the early English drama. After twenty years' hard work, he produced in 1768 his ten-volume edition of Shakespeare, the commentary to which was only published complete after his death (1783). His choice

1 See also Sotheby's sales of 25 July 1848 and 19 February 1896.

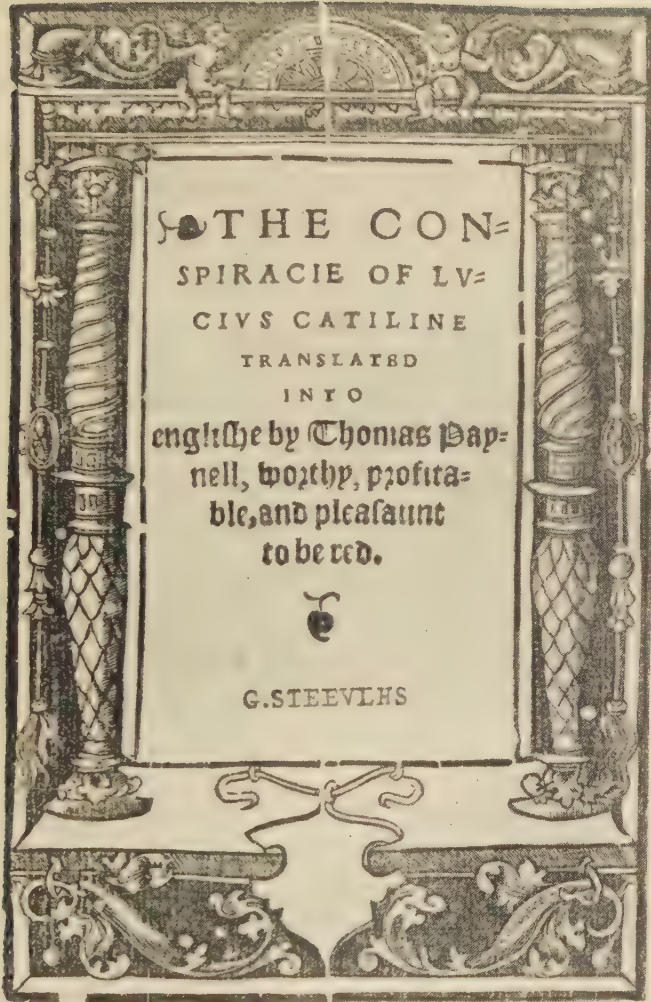
2 The Handel manuscripts were bequeathed to the Earl of Aylesford.

and valuable library he gave in 1779 to Trinity College, Cambridge: it may be reckoned, without hesitation, as one of the best Shakespearean collections in the United Kingdom. The catalogue has been thrice printed, in 1779, 1829 and 1903.¹

When George Steevens (1736-1800), a fine scholar but an unpleasant character in private life, printed in 1779 thirty copies of the Capell catalogue he beseeched his friends never to show a copy to a bookseller, for he feared that the market price of Shakespeareana would immediately rise 100 per cent. His sale (13 May 1800) marks the earliest appearance in the auction-room of a large Shakespearean collection. He owned some fifty Shakespeare Quartos, several of which sold for prices varying from twenty to thirty pounds, or ten times as much as the average previous records. Among the purchasers were Kemble and Malone (about whom more hereafter), George III and the Duke of Roxburghe (both of whom bought through Nicol) and the Marquess of Bute (part of whose library now belongs to the Crichton Stuart family).

Every book owned by Steevens bore his name "G. Steevens" neatly written or stamped in black at the beginning or the end. As he occasionally weeded out duplicates (especially of his Quartos), it often happens that two copies of the same edition both bear his signature. It is not always easy in

¹ G. Steevens, *Catalogue of Mr. Capell's Shaksperiana* (1779, 8vo), 30 copies only (reprinted by C. H. Hartshorne, *Book Rarities in Cambridge*, 1829, pp. 290-319); W. W. Greg, *Catalogue of the books presented by Edward Capell to the library of Trinity College in Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1903, 8vo).



Title-page of a book with the stamp of George Steevens,
belonging to Messrs Maggs

that case to decide which copy was actually in the 1800 sale.¹ Steeven's continuator, Isaac Reed (1742-1807), also a Shakespearean scholar, collected a number of books on English poetry and the drama; they were sold on 2 November 1807, with considerable success.²

George Steevens's most dangerous rival as a collector of Shakespeareana was Edmund Malone (1741-1812), who had been singularly successful in his attempt to bring together a complete collection of Shakespeare Quartos. His purchase of the unique 1593 *Venus and Adonis*, the first edition of Shakespeare's first printed work, was a great achievement in itself. When Malone died, in 1812, he bequeathed his library and papers to his brother, Lord Sunderlin, who, in 1822, presented them to the Bodleian. Unfortunately Malone, like several other collectors of his days, found it desirable to inlay his Quartos, leaf by leaf, and bind them in large volumes, several plays in each. By this barbarous treatment, as aptly said by Mr Pollard, "to the book-lover all the charm of the old volumes has been destroyed".³

1 Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 543-50; W. Y. Fletcher *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 240-4.

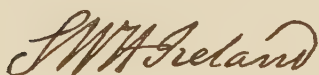
2 W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 505-10; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 269-70.

3 Cf. *Catalogue of early English poetry and other miscellaneous works illustrating the British drama collected by Edmund Malone, Esq., and now preserved in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1836, Fol.); J. O. Halliwell, *Hand-list of the early English literature preserved in the Malone collection in the Bodleian library* (London, 1860, 8vo), 51 copies printed (an extract from the 1836 catalogue). It should be noted that to the "Malone" collection at the Bodleian have been added at various times a number of valuable Shakespeareana which never belonged to Malone.

Malone's duplicates were sold (2544 lots) in 1803, in a sale which I have not identified; a further portion of his books were disposed of at Sotheby's on 26 November 1818, including a collection of tracts in seventy-six bound volumes, which we subsequently (1833) find in Thorpe's hands and which are now in the Bodleian; there were also some Malone books and papers in the Boswell sale of 24 May 1825.

From Malone, it is but one step to Ireland, not William Ireland, the Shakespearean forger, but his father Samuel Ireland the etcher (1730?-1800), who believed, until his very deathbed, in the authenticity of his son's preposterous inventions.

Samuel Ireland's valuable library of early English



Signature of S. W. H. Ireland
on the title of a Britwell book
(23 March 1925, no. 528).

books was sold by auction on 7 May 1801. They were uniformly bound in half-green morocco and contemporary book-collectors not infrequently refer to Samuel Ireland's "green livery". Practically identical bindings were made for the Duke of Roxburghe, but they are easy to distinguish as the lettering which runs along the back is upright on the Roxburghe books and slanting on the Ireland bindings.

Throughout the eighteenth century, a considerable number of valuable collections of early English manuscripts, charters, deeds and rolls, state papers

and private letters, had been successively dispersed. One of the most notable collectors of these manuscripts was the Norfolk antiquary Peter Le Neve (1661-1729), whose library was sold on 22 February and 19 March 1731.¹ His widow married her husband's executor, Thomas Martin (1697-1771), known to his friends of the Society of Antiquaries as "Honest Tom Martin of Palgrave". Martin's books and manuscripts, including many of Le Neve's, were sold after his death and are now divided between many libraries and collections.²

The manuscripts collected by the Leeds historian Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725) were sold in London (27 February 1764) after the death of his son, also named Ralph Thoresby. Another

1 Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 147-9.

2 I cannot do better than quote a few lines from Thompson Cooper's authoritative article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxvi (1893), pp. 297-8: "Martin's pecuniary embarrassments obliged him to dispose of many of his books, enriched with manuscript notes, to Thomas Payne, in 1769. A catalogue of his remaining library was printed after his death, at Lynn, 1771, 8vo. Worth purchased it with all his other collections for 600 *l.* The printed books he immediately sold to Booth and Berry of Norwich, who disposed of them in a catalogue, 1773. The pictures and lesser curiosities Worth sold by auction at Diss; part of the manuscripts in London, [28] April 1773, by Samuel Baker; and by a second sale there, in May 1774, manuscripts, scarce books, deeds, grants, pedigrees, drawings, prints, coins and curiosities. What remained on the death of Worth, consisting chiefly of the papers relating to Thetford, Bury and the county of Suffolk, were purchased by Thomas Hunt, who sold many of them to private purchasers. Richard Gough became possessed of the Bury papers. The dispersion was completed by the sale of Ives's collection in London, [3] March 1777, he having been a principal purchaser at every former one".

important sale was that (23 November 1757, postponed to 14 December) of the extensive manuscript collections formed in the days of Elizabeth and James I by a well-known lawyer and statesman, Sir Julius Caesar (1558–1636). The two steadiest purchasers of all these manuscripts seem to have been Lord Shelburne and Richard Gough.

The first Marquess of Lansdowne (1737–1805), better known perhaps as Lord Shelburne, was always keen to purchase state papers and documents. From the heirs of James West he secured, in 1772, some 115 volumes of Cecil papers, which had belonged to Strype. He likewise purchased Bishop Kennett's topographical collections, heraldic manuscripts from the library of Peter Le Neve, thirty volumes of the papers of Sir Julius Caesar and Philip Carteret Webb's large collection on parliamentary history. After his death, his printed books were sold by auction (6 January 1806); his manuscripts were catalogued for sale on 27 April 1807 and following days but were disposed of privately to the British Museum for £4925, granted for that purpose by Parliament.¹

Less important for English history, but of inestimable value for local topography, are the collections formed by Richard Gough (1735–1809), the editor of an excellent annotated translation of

¹ Leigh and Sotheby, *Bibliotheca manuscripta Lansdowniana* (1807, 2 vols. 8vo); H. Ellis and Fr. Douce, *A catalogue of the Lansdowne manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1819, Fol.); W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 476–8; E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870), pp. 422–36; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 248–51.

Camden's *Britannia*, of the *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain* and of a most useful bibliography of local history entitled *British Topography*. Gough bequeathed to the Bodleian the whole of his topographical books and manuscripts; the remainder of his library was sold by auction on 5 April 1810.¹

We may also note the dispersal, at a sale by auction, of the library belonging to Sir John Sebright of Beechwood, Hertfordshire (6 April 1807), which included the collections of the historian Sir Roger Twysden (1597-1672), other portions of which were obtained in 1892 by the British Museum², and of Edward Lhwyd (1660-1709), the Welsh scholar; Lhwyd's papers were divided between the Earl of Macclesfield and Sir Thomas Sebright; Sir John Sebright, in 1786, gave the Irish portion to Trinity College, Dublin; most of the papers sold in 1807 went to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, but a number were burnt in a fire at a London binder's. The bulk of the above is now at Aberystwyth.

An extremely remarkable group of manuscripts, the originals of the *Paston Letters*, the most interesting private papers of late mediaeval England, have a curiously eventful history which is worth recording here. William Paston, the second and last Earl of Yarmouth, had sold them to Peter Le Neve,

1 Cf. *A catalogue of the books relating to British topography and Saxon and Northern literature bequeathed to the Bodleian Library in the year MDCXCIX by Richard Gough* (Oxford, 1814, 4to); W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 458-61; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 238-40.

2 Cf. also a sale at Puttick's, 8 June 1858.

from whom they passed to Thomas Martin, then to Thomas Worth, of Diss, and through him to Sir John Fenn, of Norwich (1739-1794).¹ When the latter printed (1787) vols. I and II of the *Paston Letters*, he bound the originals of those letters into three volumes which he presented to King George III. These were long considered as lost, but finally came to light, in 1889, in the E. G. Pretyman collection at Orwell Park, Suffolk.

The originals of vols. III, IV and V were kept by Sir John Fenn. In 1865 his descendant, Philip Frere, discovered the letters of vol. V in his house at Dungate, Cambridgeshire and, the following year, they were purchased by the British Museum (Add. MSS. 27443-27446). Ever since then, the Museum has been gradually acquiring pieces of the Paston correspondence: in 1889 a small bunch of letters (Add. MS. 33597); in 1896, from the library of John Tudor Frere, at Roydon Hall, Norfolk, the bulk of the letters published in vols. III and IV (Add. MSS. 34888 and 34889); in 1904, a fat volume of somewhat later letters, all unpublished, also coming from Roydon Hall (Add. MS. 36988).²

Several stray groups of letters are known to exist: twenty letters were bequeathed in 1834 to the Bodleian by Francis Douce; two volumes of Paston letters were sold in 1836 by Thorpe to Sir

1 A few letters went to Francis Blomefield and from him to Ives and Gough.

2 Roydon Hall manuscripts, many of which do not come from Fenn, but from the Frere family, often bear a small upright oval stamp in red ink.

Thomas Phillipps (Phillipps MSS. 9309 and 9735); a single letter belongs to Lord Ilchester, at Holland House.¹

Sir John Fenn had a scrap-book containing some valuable fragments of early typography and a number of typographical devices cut from old books. To enrich this scrap-book, he foolishly removed the device from the title-page of his all but unique copy of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592), the first book to mention Shakespeare, but luckily the late Mr W. A. White was able to piece the two together and restore the device to its proper place.² A contemporary of Sir John Fenn, Jacob Bryant (1715-1804), a tutor to the Duke of Marlborough, bequeathed his valuable library to King's College, Cambridge, but after having parted with his Caxtons.³

A large library of a somewhat different character from many of those mentioned above was brought together by John Brand (1744-1806), secretary to the Society of Antiquaries. According to his contemporaries, he hardly ever spent more than a few pence for his purchases and never had a book bound or mended. But London, in the late eighteenth century, was such a wonderful hunting-ground for

1 The 1088 originals are located in the useful table drawn up by H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England* (Cambridge, 1922, 8vo), pp. 264-75.

2 Books and manuscripts from the Fenn library were included in various sales of members of the Frere family, on 16 July 1866, 31 July 1888, 14 February 1896, 2 December 1907 (lots 295-393) and 13 December 1926 (lot 379).

3 C. H. Hartshorne, *Book Rarities in Cambridge* (1829), pp. 175-216.

the collector—and may I say that it still was twenty years ago and perhaps may still be thought so even to-day—that Brand's library, when sold by auction (6 May 1807 and 8 February 1808), was found to contain a large number of scarce books in English literature, history and topography.¹

Although discoveries were made in old libraries throughout the nineteenth century, it may be said that, in 1810, the bulk of our present store of early English books and manuscripts had already passed through the collectors' hands. The material on which future bibliographers were going to work had already to a large extent become sorted and sifted. The next generation, that of Lord Spencer, Heber, Dibdin and the Roxburghe Club, was destined to see book-collecting placed on a proper pedestal: the black-letter book, after having passed from the country hall to the scholar's study, passed back from the scholar's study to the country hall.

¹ W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 409-19; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 274-7.

CHAPTER VII

THE DUKE OF ROXBURGHE AND LORD SPENCER

A NEW era in British book-collecting may be said to start with the Roxburghe sale (1812). For the first time in the history of bibliophily, the four-figure limit was reached in an auction sale for a single printed book. From being the hobby of a scholar or the whim of an eccentric commoner, the collecting of rare books became, once more, as in Harley's and Sunderland's days, the favourite pastime of the wealthy nobleman. Fine bindings again became the fashion and everybody knows that if a shabby tract may be lost or thrown away, a book once handsomely clothed in morocco is practically safe from destruction.

John, third Duke of Roxburghe (1740-1804), had found in the family library a certain number of valuable books, purchased by his grandfather and father, the first and second Dukes. Round this nucleus he built a handsome and extensive library (the sale catalogue enumerates 9353 lots) mainly devoted to incunabula, French chivalry-romances, early English and Italian literature, Shakespeare and the drama. Many volumes were handsomely bound with his arms; all the others bore on the reverse of the title a small black armorial stamp, easily recognizable. His main agent seems to have been the bookseller Nicol, who also bought for George III.

The sale (18 May 1812) was a most sensational affair and the total of £23,341 was an extraordinary one for the time. Dibdin has scribbled reams of enthusiastic literature on the smallest incident of each daily session. The success of the auction, as we see it now, was obviously due to the competition of three wealthy buyers, Lord Spencer, the Marquess of Blandford and the Duke of Devonshire. The fifteen Caxtons brought record prices, the Duke of Devonshire giving £1060. 10s. for the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy*, while five others were purchased by Lord Spencer. The greatest event of all was the purchase by the Marquess of Blandford, for £2260, of the celebrated "Valdarfer Boccaccio" (1471), a record price which remained unequalled until the sale of the Syston Park 1459 Psalter, in 1884. The Roxburghe Club was inaugurated in commemoration of the sale of this famous volume.

Here may also be mentioned the collection of broadside ballads in three volumes, two of which had belonged to Lord Oxford and subsequently to West and Pearson. The "Roxburghe Ballads" as they are now styled contained 1341 items and sold for £477. 15s. At the Bright sale, in 1845, they were purchased for the British Museum and they are still considered the finest collection of the kind existing in any library.¹

George John, second Earl Spencer (1758-1834),

¹ On the Roxburghe sale, see Dibdin, *Bibliographical Decameron*, III (1817), pp. 49-69; *Reminiscences* (1836), pp. 345-71; W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 517-34; B. Quaritch, *op.*

was one of the greatest book-collectors, not only in English history, but even in the history of the world. A great-grandson of the third Earl of Sunderland and a brother-in-law of the Duke of Devonshire, he seemed destined to have a brilliant political career; but his literary tastes and his ardour as a collector were greater than his ambitions as a statesman and, from 1807, he no longer cared to occupy high government offices.

He had found in the family library at Althorp a small but valuable collection of Elizabethan books. But his classical tastes, presumably developed by his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, directed more of his attention to the Greeks and the Romans. In 1790 he succeeded in purchasing from the aged owner the extremely choice collection of first editions of the classics formed by Count Reviczky, the Emperor's ambassador to the English court. Reviczky's books, of which he had himself printed a catalogue,¹ were all in very fine condition and contained some of the most desirable items from the La Vallière sale (Paris, 1784). This was the real nucleus of the Spencer library, which rapidly increased. Lord Spencer, for thirty years, was the most generous buyer in Europe. From Germany, he secured many treasures, mainly supplied by

laud., part ix (1897); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 259-63. Another portion of the Roxburghe library was sold at Kelso, on 16 September 1813.

1 Periergus Deltophilus, *Bibliotheca graeca et latina...* (Berlin, 1784, 8vo), privately printed and very scarce, especially with the two supplements, printed about 1786 and 1788; 2nd edition (Berlin, 1794, 8vo).

Horn of Ratisbon; in England, he persuaded, in 1811, the members of the Lincoln Chapter to part with several of the Caxtons bequeathed to the cathedral in 1681 by Dean Michael Honynwood.¹ The fine library collected by Stanesby Alchorne (†1800), Master of the Mint, was purchased by Payne, offered to Lord Spencer in 1806 for £1200, declined by him and sold to Thomas Johnes, of Hafod (1748–1816), whose library had just been burnt down (1807). In February 1813, the latter decided to part with the Alchorne books and offered them to Lord Spencer, who had to pay £3500 for a collection which a few years before he could have secured at a third of the price.²

As might have been supposed, the purchase of the Alchorne library gave Lord Spencer a considerable number of duplicates; these he eliminated, together with other books he did not wish to preserve, in the sale (22 May 1813) of “a portion of the valuable library of the late Stanesby Alchorne . . . to which are added the valuable duplicates of a nobleman”. The sale was a great success and brought Lord Spencer no less than £1769. Among the buyers we note the names of the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquess of Blandford, Sir Francis

1 The same library was exploited by Dibdin, who obtained from it the rarities described in *The Lincoln Nosegay* (N.p. 1811, 8vo), a pamphlet of which only 36 copies were printed, but of which there exists a surreptitious edition.

2 The letters of Lord Spencer and of Johnes to Dibdin referring to this transaction have passed from the library of Sir Thomas Brooke into my own collection. On the Alchorne library, cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part IV (1893). Later Alchorne sales took place on 17 April 1848 and 12 November 1851.

Freeling, Sir Mark Sykes, Richard Heber, Lord Clive, Bolland, Goldsmid and Grenville.¹

Since about 1805, Lord Spencer was employing the services of England's most enthusiastic bibliographer, the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776–1847), a most entertaining but thoroughly unreliable author, who did good work in popularizing the taste for rare books. In 1811 he printed thirty-six copies of a little pamphlet entitled *Book rarities, or a descriptive catalogue of some of the most curious rare and valuable books of early date, chiefly in the collection of George John, Earl Spencer, K.G.* (N.p., 1811, 8vo), describing the Petrarchs and Dantes of the Spencer library.

In 1814–1815, he produced the four volumes of the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, the handsomest and most elaborate catalogue of a private library yet issued. To these he added, in 1822, the two volumes of the *Aedes Althorpianae* and, in 1823, a seventh volume (with an index to the whole set) entitled *Catalogue of the books printed in the fifteenth century formerly in the library of the Duke de Cassano Serra and now in Earl Spencer's collection*.

The Duke de Cassano Serra was a Neapolitan collector who had issued, in 1807, a very brief (and very scarce) *Catalogo dell'edizioni del sec. XV esistenti nella bibliotheca del Duca di Cassano Serra*, describing among other rarities an unrivalled series of books printed at Naples in the fifteenth

¹ Other Spencer duplicates were sold on 20 December 1798, 26 May 1800, 3 April 1802, 6 June 1804, 16 May 1811, 9 May 1815, 2 March 1821, 5 June 1823.

century. In order to secure these, Lord Spencer bought the whole library (*c.* 1820), but he discarded the duplicates in several sales.¹ He kept on adding to his library until about 1830, his latest purchases being apparently some of Renouard's Aldines.

The library remained untouched at Althorp until 1892, when it was sold entire for £250,000 to Mrs John Rylands, who presented it to Manchester as a memorial to her late husband.

Lord Spencer's library has been rightly described as the finest private collection of books in Europe. For incunabula and Aldines it equalled—when it did not surpass them—the greatest public libraries of the world. No other collector ever owned *all* the first editions of the classics, both the Mayence Bibles (42-line and 36-line editions), both the Fust and Schoiffer Psalters (1457 and 1459), nearly all the rarest incunabula, including impressions by Pfister and no less than fifty-six Caxtons (more than the British Museum, until a quite recent date), the finest Bibles, the first editions of all the great Italian authors, books in splendid bindings, the rarest English Bibles, fourteen block-books, about 100 books printed on vellum, beautiful Elzevirs and the choicest collection of Aldines existing in any library. The skeleton catalogue (for it is no more), issued in 1899 by the late E. Gordon Duff, will hardly give an idea of the unique wealth of the

¹ 2 March 1821, 18 December 1826, 5 February, 17 March 1828. The manuscripts were included in the sale of 5 February 1828.

Spencerian collection, although the library contained but a handful of manuscripts and those of minor importance.

Every book in the Spencer library bore an accession-number (1 to 20,000 and more) neatly inscribed in ink on the reverse of the upper cover of the binding, in the upper left-hand corner. It is therefore an easy matter to ascertain exactly when Lord Spencer bought each volume he possessed. However, it must be noted that whenever he improved a copy by purchasing a better one, he gave to the new accession the number formerly ascribed to the now discarded duplicate. These accession-numbers also enable us to identify Spencer duplicates existing in other libraries; it is surprising to me that I should have been the first to notice them, a quarter of a century ago.¹

George Spencer, fifth Duke of Marlborough (1766-1840), better known to book-collectors as the Marquess of Blandford, spent enormous sums of money on his library at White Knights, near Reading. In 1814 he printed privately a catalogue of his library (which is not as scarce as such books usually are).² In 1819, he was compelled by circumstances to part with his library (7 and 22

1 On the Althorp library, see the above-mentioned catalogues and the numerous publications of the John Rylands library; Dibdin's works, *passim*; W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 345-58; E. Edwards, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries* (1865), pp. 392-447; M. Kerney, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part III (1892); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 308-13.

2 *Bibliotheca Blandfordiensis* (N.p., n.d., 4to). The date of 1814 is given in the supplement.

June 1819). Although the sale was brilliantly attended and such great collectors as Spencer, Heber and Grenville bought liberally, the result was disappointing. The "Valdarfer Boccaccio" which Blandford had bought against Lord Spencer for £2260 in the Roxburghe sale, now brought only £918. 15s. and the buyer was Lord Spencer, who had lost nothing by waiting seven years.¹

As we have already seen, the Duke of Devonshire's library was started in the early eighteenth century by the second Duke (1672-1729); but it is to the sixth Duke that the Chatsworth library owes its real splendour. William Cavendish, sixth Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858), succeeded to the dukedom in 1811, at the youthful age of twenty-one. The following year, he started book-collecting by extensive purchases at the Roxburghe sale and by the acquisition for £10,000 of the extremely fine collection of *editiones principes* and other incunabula, formed by Thomas Dampier (1748-1812), Bishop of Rochester and subsequently of Ely.

In 1821, he secured for £2000 the valuable collection of English plays belonging to the great Shakespearean actor John Philip Kemble (1757-1823); like the Malone collection, this was unfortunately inlaid throughout in some 700 quarto volumes. Kemble had begun it about 1792 and the Duke of Devonshire completed it by subsequent purchases (e.g. at the Heber sale), the most

¹ Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 231-8; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 324-7.

*Collated
&
Perfect.
J. H. 1814.*

THE ILE OF GVLS.

As it hath been often playd in the blacke
Fryars, by the Children of
the Reuels.

Written by Iohn Day.

First Edition.



Imprinted at London , and are to bee
sold by Iohn Hodgets in Paules Church-
yard. 1606.

Book from the library of J. P. Kemble
(J. L. Clawson sale).

notable addition being a volume, secured in 1825, containing the only (then) known copy of the first *Hamlet* (1603).¹

In 1914, the Duke of Devonshire decided to sell his Caxtons and his Plays; two brief catalogues were issued and the two series were purchased (at a price said to have been £140,000) by the New York bookseller George D. Smith, acting for Mr Henry E. Huntington.

The new owner has discarded as duplicates many of the Kemble-Devonshire plays and examples from that collection are to be found in a number of American libraries, all inlaid on large paper and usually bearing on the first leaf the initials of J. P. Kemble with a date and the words "collated and perfect".

The library at Chatsworth, in spite of these losses, is still one of the handsomest in the United Kingdom and well worthy of study by the most exacting scholar. There is an indifferent catalogue by Sir James Lacaita.² It may also be mentioned that, when the great MacCarthy library, so extravagantly rich in books printed on vellum, was offered for sale, in 1815, by his heirs, the Duke of Devonshire put in a bid of £20,000, which was declined; the auction in 1817 actually brought a little over £16,000. A number of Devonshire

¹ Kemble's other books were sold by auction, 26 January 1821.

² *Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth* (London, 1879, 4 vols. 8vo). Cf. also W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 249-56; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 364-7.



Book bound for M. Wodhull, belonging to S. de Ricci

duplicates were disposed of in two sales, 29 May and 24 November 1815.

The Kemble collection of play-bills was placed by the Duke of Devonshire in a sale at Sotheby's on 10 April 1924 (lot 329) and bought by Dr Rosenbach, presumably for Mr H. C. Folger, of New York.

Shortly after the Roxburghe sale, died a notable collector, whose name is familiar to all book-lovers, Michael Wodhull (1740-1816), of Thenford,

Baron's

65 11 19 =
119 =

m. Wodhull
May 18th 1803

Parfa

Note by Michael Wodhull on the fly-leaf of *Œuvres de Madame Deshoulières* (1799), belonging to S. de Ricci.

Northamptonshire, Dibdin's "Orlando", a notable classical scholar and the first English translator of the complete works of Euripides. He attended every London sale from 1764 to 1800, and bought

with great judgment. He specialized in incunabula, preferably of classical authors, and brought together a small and choice library. A number of his books were bound for him by Roger Payne or Mrs Weir, in full morocco or in Russia leather with the Wodhull arms.

Bibliographers should be extremely grateful to Wodhull for the care he took to inscribe on the fly-leaf of every book he bought the price, date and place of purchase, together with the cost of the binding. It is a thousand pities that, when his library was dispersed, some disinterested book-lover did not transcribe these invaluable annotations, of which here is a specimen, culled from Quaritch's *Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*:

Ed. pr. [<i>Editio princeps</i>]	...	13	0
a 2nd copy		7	6
bind. ...		16	0
		1	16 6

After sorting the best leaves,
re-sold the 2nd copy at Leigh's
auction, May 1797 for

...	8	6
Net	1	8 0

M. Wodhull F. 26th 1772
and F. 1st 1796

Wodhull's library was bequeathed to his sister-in-law, Mary Ingram, who left it in 1824 to Samuel Amy Severne; it last belonged to J. E. Severne, M.P., who sold it by auction in 1886.¹

¹ Sale at Sotheby's on 11 January 1886; the imperfect books returned from the sale were sold on 13 May 1886, nos. 1496-1523;

When the sale was announced, two American collectors, Robert Hoe and William Loring Andrews, pooled their bids and divided their purchases; the incunabula then secured by W. L. Andrews are now at Yale University.¹ During his lifetime, Wodhull, on two occasions, parted with his duplicates (sales on 3 March 1801 and 24 March 1803). From all the books in these sales he removed the date and price of purchase by cutting away the upper corner of the fly-leaf, a particularity which now enables them to be recognized.

The same year as Michael Wodhull, Richard, seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745-1816), died unmarried in London, leaving to the University of Cambridge £100,000, his art collections, and a fine library of several thousand books and 130 manuscripts, the nucleus of the present Fitzwilliam Museum which perpetuates his name.² The collector never inscribed in his books the origin of his acquisitions but nearly always wrote in the date, a helpful clue to would-be investigators.

the autograph letters and various papers, on 29 November 1886. Cf. W. Clarke. *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 390-2; Fr. Clarke, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part ix (1897); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 263-7.

1 *Catalogue of the William Loring Andrews collection of early books in the Library of Yale University* (New Haven, 1913, 8vo).

2 On the manuscripts, see W. G. Searle, *The illuminated manuscripts in the Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1876, 8vo); M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1895, 4to).

CHAPTER VIII

BECKFORD AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

ONE of the greatest collectors of the day, a man to be mentioned in the same breath as Lord Spencer, was the wealthy and eccentric "Vathek", William Beckford (1759-1844). He spent considerable sums of money on his library at Fonthill in Wiltshire. His earliest purchases were made about 1785, in Paris, and he continued until his old age. When he sold Fonthill, in 1822, to John Farquhar (who re-sold the contents, including the library, on 9 September 1823), he removed all the valuable books to his new residence at Lansdowne Terrace, Bath, where he was buried in 1844. His art collections, together with his books and prints, went to his son-in-law the tenth Duke of Hamilton. When the Hamilton heirlooms were disposed of, the Beckford library, which had been kept separate, was auctioned at Sotheby's in four consecutive sales,¹ which produced the enormous total of £86,000.

Beckford's books contained no special mark of identification, but all those purchased by Quaritch were adorned by that bookseller with a specially

¹ 30 June, 11 December 1882, 2 July, 27 November 1883. On 8 July 1884 were sold the books returned as imperfect.

engraved book-plate. Many others may be recognized from the characteristically caustic remarks pencilled by Beckford on the fly-leaves. In his lifetime the collector had already disposed of a number of superfluous volumes.¹

As we shall see, nearly every library built up in England during the first half of the nineteenth century conformed to the Dibdinian type of the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*. Not so with William Beckford, who was far too personal to do anything like anybody else. As a book-collector, he was certainly far ahead of his times and his taste was uncommonly close to that of the modern French bibliophile of A.D. 1900.

He did not buy long sets of Aldines or Elzevirs; he refused to enthuse on Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson; the *editio princeps* of a Greek classic left him cold. The only aspect which really struck him was the artistic beauty of old books and manuscripts. Illustrations, especially in unusual states, and bindings, either handsome in themselves or adorned with the arms of early possessors, appealed to him far more than books of texts; also large-paper copies, volumes on vellum, anything which was really out of the ordinary. The result of these bizarre tastes was less a library, in the proper sense of the word, than a cabinet of bibliographical rarities and freaks, each one a gem of its kind.

A number of books from the Beckford sales crossed the Channel, particularly the French illus-

¹ In addition to the sale of 9 September 1823, we may quote sales of 24 May 1804, 9 June 1808 and 6 May 1817.

trated books of the eighteenth century, which he owned in exceptionally remarkable copies.¹

As stated above, Beckford's books went after his death to his son-in-law the tenth Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852), who was also an important collector. Before his father's death (1819), he had, as Marquess of Douglas and Clydesdale, brought together a remarkable series of mediaeval manuscripts, mainly illuminated.² Most of these he had purchased on the Continent, at Venice and in Paris. In 1882 they were catalogued for sale by Messrs Sotheby, together with the manuscripts contained in the Beckford library. Before the printing of the catalogue was even completed, the whole of these manuscripts were purchased for £70,000 by the Prussian government, who divided them between the Berlin library and print cabinet. The Prussian parliament having raised some difficulties as to the great cost of this collection, it was decided to sell a portion of it. Some volumes were bought privately by the British Museum; ninety-one were disposed of by auction in London, on 23 May 1889, in a memorable sale. They are now divided between a number of collections (British Museum, Fitzwilliam Museum, Chantilly, Strasbourg, Pierpont Morgan library, H. Yates Thompson, C. W. Dyson Perrins, Lord Aldenham, C. F. Bishop, etc.). The finest manuscript in the sale was the purple vellum codex

1 Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 203-30, an account which is obviously from Beckford's own pen; B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part IV (1893); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 317-21.

2 See the description by W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 257-64.

of the Gospels presented by Henry VIII to Pope Leo X; it was bought by Quaritch for £1500, sold to Theodore Irwin, of Oswego, and re-sold, in 1900, to the late Mr Pierpont Morgan.

The Hamilton and Beckford manuscripts were numbered consecutively, about 1850, in pencil, on the fly-leaf (right-hand upper corner), with a numeral preceded by the monogram HB. When there is a *second* numeral below the first, it means that the manuscript is from Beckford's collection, of which no independent catalogue is known to exist. These numerals in pencil do *not* coincide with those of the 1882 printed catalogue.¹

It seems that a few of the Hamilton (or Beckford?) manuscripts were not included in the 1882 catalogue and were disposed of privately in the French market: the two finest of these were the Boucicaut Hours now in the Musée Jacquemart-André and the beautiful Parisian Horae which the late Mr Pierpont Morgan obtained from the Montgermont library.

The Hamilton library of printed books containing a number of large and handsome volumes was sold by Sotheby on 1 May 1884, and brought nearly £13,000.²

¹ This catalogue was supposed to exist only in two or three sets of proofs, but, in the estate of the printer, half-a-dozen copies on large paper were discovered and sold to a few fortunate libraries.

² Cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part v (1894), with a good account of the MSS.; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 328-31. A further portion of the Hamilton library was sold by Sotheby on 18 February 1920 (lots 495-713).

As might have been expected, the success of the Roxburghe sale brought several fine libraries on the market. Colonel Thomas Stanley's Italian and Spanish books, fine chivalry-romances, etc., were sold by Evans (30 April 1813).¹

The choice incunabula block-books and Caxtons collected by Ralph Willett (1719-1795), of Merly in Dorset, described by the owner in a very scarce private catalogue (1790) and housed in an elaborate gallery of which he issued a description (1776 and 1785), were sold by auction on 6 December 1813.²

The year 1814 saw the dispersal of a portion of the library of John Towneley (or Townley) of Chiswick (1740?-1813), the heir and uncle of Charles Towneley the famous collector of classical antiquities. Evans sold a first portion of the library on 8 June 1814, a second on 19 June 1815, and a third on 22 May 1817. What remained was disposed of at Sotheby's, 18 June 1883, the manuscripts (including the papers of the antiquary Christopher Towneley, 1604-1674) forming a

1 His duplicates had been sold by Sotheby on 19 February 1812. Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 535-42; M. Kerney, in Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part II (1892). Col. Stanley died in 1818; his descendant Edward James Stanley (†1907), of Quantock Lodge, Somerset, was also a keen book-collector and the son-in-law of Lord Taunton (1798-1869). Stanley's library was sold on 17 June 1901, 6 July 1905, 26 May 1908 and 22 June 1908; the Taunton books were sold on 2 December 1920 after the death (1920) of Mrs E. J. Stanley.

2 R. Willett, *A description of the library at Merly* (London, 1776, 8vo, and 1785, Fol.); *idem*, *A catalogue of the books in the library at Merly* (London, 1790, 8vo); W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 559-62; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 215-18. A sale of Willett music took place on 24 March 1859.

separate sale on 27 June 1883.¹ Towneley gave his name to the "Towneley Homer", a valuable Greek manuscript bought at his first sale by the classical scholar Charles Burney (1757-1817), whose extensive library, particularly strong in Greek and Latin authors, both printed and manuscript, was sold after his death to the British Museum for £13,500.²

Antiquaries and other scholars needed no guide when forming their libraries. When book-collecting became the hobby of the wealthy dilettante, the bookseller saw his chance and became, not unnaturally, the obvious guide to the would-be bibliophile. Hence arose a new and more enlightened generation of booksellers, operating on a large scale and reaping handsome profits.

One of the earliest was James Edwards (1757-1816), whose first achievements were to bring back from Venice the Pinelli library (sold by auction on 2 March 1789 and 1 February 1790) and from Paris the *Bibliotheca Parisina* (sold on 26 March 1791) belonging to Paris d'Illens with "additions" from the library of Cardinal de Brienne.³

¹ Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 551-8; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 226-32. On Christopher Towneley's papers cf. the *Fourth Report of the Commission on Historical MSS.* (1874), pp. 406-16 and 613-4.

² On Burney's collections, cf. J. Forshall, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, New Series, 1, part II: The Burney Manuscripts (London, 1840, Fol.), describing 524 manuscripts (cf. index in part III); E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870), pp. 436-42; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 306-8.

³ Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 486-91; the catalogue mentions a couple of books which never existed, described from lists sent to London before the books were shipped from France.

In 1800, through a lucky exchange with the Vienna library, Edwards brought to England a number of magnificent books from the library of Prince Eugène de Savoie. Edwards's sale took place the year before his death (5 April 1815): 830 lots sold for £8500. It is true that he owned the world-famous Bedford Missal (sold to the Marquess of Blandford) and several other fine manuscripts bought by the future Duke of Hamilton.¹

The same year was issued by the firm of Longman an ambitious catalogue: *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica, or a descriptive catalogue of a rare and rich collection of early English poetry* (London, 1815, 8vo), drawn up by A. F. Griffiths and containing 956 items fully described and priced, many at quite expensive figures. Though it is not stated in the catalogue, nearly the whole of the collection had been obtained by Longman from Thomas Hill (1760–1840), who had purchased the large poetical library of Thomas Park (1759–1834), the well-known historian of English poetry. Hill's or Park's signature occurs on the title of many of the volumes.

Longman's speculation was not a profitable one. A few of the more expensive books were bought by Sykes and Heber, but the bulk remained unsold and brought small prices when Longman placed them in the *Bibliotheca selecta, a catalogue of the library of an eminent collector removed from the North*

¹ Cf. Dibdin, *Bibliogr. Decameron*, III (1817), pp. 111–27; W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 442–6; M. Kerney, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part II (1892); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 297–300.

Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour.

Off the Miserabyll Estait of the World;
Compyllit be Schir David Lynde-
say of ye Mount Knycht alias, Lyone
kyng of Armes.

And is Deuidit in foure Partis.
As efter followis. &c.

And Imprintit at the Command
and Expensis off Doctoꝝ,
MACHABEVS,
In Copmāhouth.



The Hill

Absit Gloriari, Nisi in Cruce Domini
nostri Iesu Christi,

vd D 1573

of England comprising a rare and rich assemblage of old English poetry (16 February 1818). The collector "from the North of England" was said at the time by gossips to be one "Midgley", about whom I have no further information, but he doubtless only possessed a portion of the books in the sale, possibly the wonderful First Folio in the original binding which Grenville purchased and was unwise enough to have re-bound! It may be noted that the larger portion of the books described in the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica* (or *B.A.P.* as it was often called) were subsequently brought together again in the Britwell library.

We may observe that, about this time, several libraries were imported from France, to be sold in England, for instance the *Bibliotheca splendida* of Talleyrand (8 May 1816 and 18 April 1817—Talleyrand books had already been sold by Sotheby, 11 April 1793), the vellums of Junot, duc d'Abrantès (19 June 1816 and 26 March 1817) and the stock of the Paris booksellers Treuttel and Würtz (12 June 1817), mendaciously described as the "Library of an amateur of distinction".

A prominent part in the formation of several great collections was played by the firm of Payne and Foss, founded about 1740 by "honest Tom Payne" (1719-1799), the protector, though not the relative, of the binder, Roger Payne; he was succeeded by his son Thomas Payne the younger (1752-1831), whose nephew John Thomas Payne continued the business until 1850, in partnership (1813-1850) with Henry Foss.

The earlier catalogues of the firm (1740 and yearly from 1755 to 1789, etc.) are not very instructive, but the later volumes, especially from 1818 onwards, are extremely interesting, especially if the scholar examines the firm's own file, given by Robert Hoe to the New York Grolier Club.¹ When the firm was broken up, the stock was sold by auction (18 March and 24 June 1850). John Thomas Payne's share was sold in 1857 (printed books, 28 April; manuscripts, 30 April), with the exception of a small series of exquisitely selected books, sold on 10 April 1878.

Payne and Foss had rather limited interests: they specialized in mediaeval manuscripts, incunabula, Greek and Latin classics, Aldines and Elzevirs; but they had keen eyes for quality and it may be sufficient to say in their favour that they entirely built up the Grenville and Holford libraries.

Pursuing our rambles through the catalogues of notable libraries dispersed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, we are first confronted with the "extensive library of a Nobleman", i.e. the fourth Duke of Grafton (1760-1844), with many classics on large or largest paper and a few Shakespeare Quartos.²

We next meet with the sale of William Roscoe (1753-1831), the author of the *Life of Leo X* (1805). His fine library was sold at Liverpool

¹ It contains the catalogues from 1825 to 1850 with the purchasers' names affixed to a large number of items. Another useful set is Sir Frederic Madden's in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum.

² Sale by Evans on 6 June 1815.

(19 August 1816) for a little over £5000, a big buyer being Coke (of Holkham). Roscoe owned a block-book, several beautiful specimens of the earliest Mayence press and a number of fine Italian books and manuscripts. At his sale his friends bought in a number of books and offered them to him; on his refusal to accept them, they were given to the Liverpool Athenaeum, where they still form a "Roscoe collection".¹

Early English literature was the *forte* of James Bindley (1737-1818), commissioner of the stamp duties, and the owner, as we have seen, of a large number of Narcissus Luttrell's books. At the five sales (7 December 1818, 11 January, 16 February 1819, 2 August 1820 and 16 January 1821) of his very extensive library, the main purchaser was Richard Heber. The sale-catalogues are very inadequate and hardly give a fair idea of the wealth of the collection described.²

Another valuable library belonged to John North³ and was also sold in 1819 (29 March, 19 April and 25 May). This collector must be carefully distinguished from Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford (1766-1827), who had built up in Italy a large library, first preserved at Corfu and subsequently sold in London.⁴ Of his very

1 Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 511-16; B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part VII (1895).

2 Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 244-8.

3 Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 325-31.

4 Sales on 15 December 1828, 12 January, 28 February 1829, 8 December, 20 December 1830, 5 January 1831, 9 November, 17 December 1835. Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 321-4.

numerous manuscripts, mostly modern transcripts of early texts, many were purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps, but a certain number are now in the British Museum.¹

Of the White Knights sale (1819) we have already spoken. The sale by Evans of the library of George Watson Taylor, M.P. (20 March and 14 April 1823), brought nearly £9000. It contained a number of books of the greatest beauty, incunabula on vellum, splendid Caxtons, English works on largest paper and other items dear to Dibdin's pupils.²

A much larger library of the same general character had been formed by Sir Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823), M.P., of Sledmere, Yorkshire; when sold by Evans (11 May, 28 May and 21 June 1824) it brought hardly more than the Watson Taylor collection. It contained a wonderful array of the finest incunabula, the Gutenberg Bible, the 1459 Psalter, the 1462 Bible, the 1469 Livy on vellum and other books of the same class. Sykes had also collected Elizabethan literature and secured some of the choicest items from the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica*.³ Sykes's books all bear inside the cover his signature or initials, sometimes his

1 It does not seem that the "North Heirlooms" from Wroxton Abbey, Banbury, sold at Sotheby's on 13 November 1922 (lots 543-846) were part of the same Guilford library.

2 A number of beautifully bound books, apparently from the same library, were sold at Sotheby's on 18 February 1920, as from the estate of S. Watson Taylor, of Erlestoke Park, Wiltshire; cf. also the Erlestoke Park sale of 9 July 1832.

3 W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 374-82; B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part xi (1898); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 331-6.

oval book-plate, and many show on the binding his arms, with the letters MMS (Mark Masterman Sykes).

Two important libraries were started at the Sykes sale: the collection of incunabula of Sir John H. Thorold and the beautiful small library of Henry Perkins the brewer (1778-1855), largely added to, through the booksellers John and Arthur Arch, at the Dent sale of 1827. After the death of the collector's heir, Algernon Perkins, the library was sold at Hanworth Park, Middlesex, on 3 June 1873, the total then reached being no less than £26,000. There were two copies of Gutenberg's Bible, one on vellum, bought by Lord Ashburnham for £3400 (subsequently in the Hoe and Huntington collections) and one on paper, bought by Quaritch for £2950 (afterwards in the Huth and Pierpont Morgan libraries). Other books printed on vellum and illuminated manuscripts also brought high prices.¹ This collector's brother, Frederick Perkins, of Chipstead, Kent, laid, about 1825, the foundations of a very fine Shakespearean library sold for about £8500 at Sotheby's on 10 July 1889. He seems to have stopped buying about 1860.²

The sales of the Rev. Henry White of Lichfield (8 February 1826 and 5 February 1838) contained a number of unusual items picked up in out of the way places, with the date of purchase boldly inscribed inside the upper cover.

¹ Cf. M. Kerney, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part II (1892); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 346-7.

² Cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part V (1894); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 347-9.



Volume with Sykes's book-plate and signature, showing also the Heber stamp, belonging to Messrs Maggs



Binding made for J. B. Inglis about 1825. D. BELCHIER, Hans Beer-
Pot (London, 1618), belonging to G. Arents Jr., New York

A very eccentric collector was John Bellingham Inglis, whose sales started in 1826 and ended in 1900. On 12 April 1826 he sold anonymously a

Henry White,
Close, Wickfield,
July 7th
1803

small but extremely choice collection of early plays, including some unique items like the 1594 *Taming of a Shrew* and Munday's *Fedele and Fortunio*. As discovered a few years ago by Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett of New York, all the plays in this collection had been uniformly bound in full morocco, usually olive-green, with an Elizabethan gilt framework on the sides, showing an acorn in each angle, the edges of the bindings being flush with the edges of the leaves. This identification has made it possible to retrace the history of several Shakespeare Quartos and other rare books.

Inglis's other books, mainly incunabula and other early literature, were sold on 9 June 1826. They may also be recognized and this time, not by the binding, but by a peculiar mania of Inglis, who loved to cut out tiny engravings, coats-of-arms, monograms, etc., and paste them on the first or last leaves of his books, regardless of their being

in any way suitable for such a singular use. His two later sales took place on 31 July 1871 and 11 June 1900. They contained many valuable and curious volumes, which Inglis took the trouble to describe minutely in a fat quarto manuscript catalogue of over 1500 pages now in my collection. Inglis wrote a beautiful neat hand, almost as clear as print.¹

A good friend of Dibdin, the Rev. Henry Drury, of Harrow (1778–1841), an excellent classical scholar, sold the larger part of his library in 1827 (19 February and 12 March).² He collected mainly Greek and Latin authors and had gathered together over 250 fine mediaeval manuscripts, chiefly classical, of which many were purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps. All were beautifully bound by Charles Lewis and bore the collector's signature and remarks neatly written on the upper right-hand corner of the first fly-leaf. On a Florus in my own collection he has written for instance: "FLORUS, qui rarò occurrit manu exaratus, sec. XIII, compegit C. Lewis.—Henry Drury".

*FLORUS, qui rarò occurrit manu exaratus,
Sec. XIII. compegit C. Lewis.
Henry Drury.*

Note by the Rev. Henry Drury on the fly-leaf of a manuscript of Florus, belonging to S. de Ricci.

The same year as the Drury library were sold (5 and 23 April 1827) the handsome books and

1 Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 349–54.

2 A third portion is said to have been sold in 1837.

manuscripts collected by the Rev. Theodore Williams, mainly consisting of biblical texts, books printed on vellum and volumes on large or largest paper. Nearly all were bound in blue or green morocco with the collector's crest, showing his initials T. W. in a small oval. Among the manuscripts were the Gospels of Mathilda of Tuscany, which subsequently belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps and are now in the Pierpont Morgan library.¹

Also in 1827 was dispersed the even more valuable library of John Dent (29 March and 25 April), containing numerous volumes of the greatest beauty, several remarkable illuminated manuscripts, the second volume of the first Homer, on vellum (afterwards in the Phillipps collection), the 1462 Bible, and a number of other books printed on vellum, such as the 1469 Livy from the Canonici, Edwards and Sykes collections (now in the Grenville library). There is a very scarce privately printed catalogue of the Dent collection, made two years before the sale.²

1 Cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.* part VI (1895).

2 *A catalogue of the library of John Dent, Esq., M.P., F.R.S.* (London, W. Nicol, 1825, 4to), 20 copies only. Dent had purchased, about 1808, the entire library of Robert Heathcote, the duplicates from which were eliminated by him in two sales (4 April and 2 May 1808); Heathcote himself had purchased the small but fine collection of Aldines and Elzevirs formed about 1790 by Haughton James; see also the Heathcote duplicate sales of 8 April, 10 June 1802, 20 April 1803, 15 March 1804, 11 February, 16 December 1805. On the Dent library, cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 241-8 and 470-3; B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part VI (1895); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 277-80.

The fine Italian and Spanish books of Roger Wilbraham, of Stratton Street, were sold on 10 June 1829¹; on 20 June 1898, 27 February 1899 and 19 March 1928 (lots 1-261) was dispersed at Sotheby's the library of Roger William Wilbraham, of Delamere House, Northwick, Cheshire, possibly a remaining portion of the same collection.²

Similar in character to the Watson Taylor, Sykes and Dent libraries, were the beautiful collections of George Hibbert and P. A. Hanrott.

George Hibbert (1757-1837) was a wealthy West India merchant, who resided at Clapham and sold his books on retiring into the country. They brought over £23,000 and included Gutenberg's Bible on paper (now at New York), the 1459 Psalter on vellum (now at The Hague) and the Complutensian polyglot, also on vellum (now at Chantilly). A good buyer at the Hibbert sale was the fifth Duke of Buccleuch (1806-1884), whose more valuable books were sold at Sotheby's, on 25 March 1889.³

Little seems to be known about P. A. Hanrott, but it is obvious that he was a collector of no mean learning. As discovered by Miss Belle Da Costa

1 Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 383-9.

2 On the Delamere House manuscripts, cf. *Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.* (1870), pp. 292-3, and *Fourth Report* (1874), pp. 416-7.

3 Hibbert's library was sold on 16 March, 4 and 25 May 1829. Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 289-302; B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part XI (1898), where may also be found (part V, 1894) an account of the 1889 Buccleuch sale; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 300-305.

Greene and Miss Ada Thurston, he was in the habit of inscribing in ink on the fly-leaves of his books interesting bibliographical remarks, nearly always terminating with a short horizontal dash, the right end of which is turned down into an angular hook. As he used no book-plate, this means of identification will prove of some value to the student.

His large library (sold on 16 July, 5 August 1833, 20 February, 15 and 22 March 1834) contained many books printed on vellum, a number of manuscripts, fine incunabula, books on large paper or printed on vellum, according to the usual Dibdinian formula.

The year 1834 saw the death of Francis Douce (1757-1834) and the first sales of Richard Heber's library. Francis Douce, at one time employed in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum, was a great student of mediaeval English literature; he bequeathed his books and manuscripts to the Bodleian where they have been kept apart and properly provided, in 1840, with an adequate catalogue. For an English library, it is exceptionally strong in early French literature both manuscript and printed.¹

¹ *Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq., to the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1840, Fol.); J. O. Halliwell, *Hand-list of the early English literature preserved in the Douce collection in the Bodleian Library* ([London], 1860, 8vo), 51 copies only; F. Madan, *A summary catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian*, iv (1897), pp. 488-631. Douce's manuscripts are now numbered Bodl. 21575-22071. His personal papers he bequeathed to the British Museum. Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 293-6.

CHAPTER IX

HEBER, MILLER, GRENVILLE AND HOLFORD

THE Dibdinian age may be aptly said to terminate with the dispersal of the gigantic library accumulated by Richard Heber (1773-1833), a bibliomaniac if ever there was one. "No gentleman", he used to say, "can be without three copies of a book, one for show, one for use and one for borrowers." From 1800 to 1830, he purchased at every London sale, either in his own name or through agents like Triphook and Thorpe. He thought nothing of securing whole libraries at a time. When he died, his books filled two houses in London, one at Hodnet, one at Oxford, one at Ghent and one at Paris, not to speak of smaller stores at Brussels, Antwerp and other Continental cities. The total number of volumes in his library must have been between two and three hundred thousand, and it is doubtful whether any private individual has ever owned so large a library.

The dispersal of the Heber library took no less than sixteen sales, thirteen in London by Evans, Sotheby and Wheatley, two in Paris and one in Ghent. The London sales produced £56,774, for books which had cost their late owner a good deal over £100,000. The market was absolutely glutted and there were practically no new buyers. All

Dibdin's friends and pupils were dead or had ceased purchasing books in their old age. The Heber sales marked really and truly the end of a great epoch. The Heber catalogues, although badly compiled and arranged in the most inconvenient manner, are daily consulted by every bibliographer. I give below a list of the sixteen volumes necessary to make up a complete set.¹

Heber's library, although it contained books of every description and in every language, was especially strong in literature and in history. His series of Continental books, early Italian and Spanish works, later Latin poetry, humanistic treatises of the Renaissance, were unrivalled. He owned a very large number of early French books, including the finest items from the great sale of

1 Part I (Sotheby), 10 April 1834; part II (Sotheby), 5 June 1834. English plays; part III (Sotheby), 10 November 1834; part IV (Evans), 8 December 1834. Early English literature. Exists also in a special edition, published by J. Payne Collier; part V (Wheatley), 19 January 1835; part VI (Evans), 23 March 1835; part VII (Evans), 25 May 1835; part VIII (Evans), 29 February 1836; part IX (Sotheby), 11 April 1836; part X (Sotheby), 30 May 1836; part XI (Evans), 10 February 1836. Manuscripts; part XII (Wheatley), 1 July 1836; part XIII (Wheatley), 22 February 1837. Books from Holland.

Of these thirteen parts, divided according to Heber's several residences, a few copies exist on large paper. The two Paris sales were held by Silvestre on 15 March and 7 October 1836; the Ghent sale by Ch. Citerne on 26 October 1835. I have been fortunate enough to bring together on my shelves the sixteen parts priced and named, on large paper (the Ghent catalogue being the only copy so printed), the London set being Queen Victoria's copy and the Paris catalogues having belonged to the bookseller Silvestre who made the sale. On the Heber library cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 278-88; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 336-41.

Robert Lang (17 November 1828); the bulk of these French books were bought at the Heber sale for Prince d'Essling, Baron Pichon and other Parisian collectors, by the French booksellers Crozet and Techener. Part xi of the Heber sale describes no less than 1717 manuscripts, many of the greatest value and interest, mainly purchased by the British Museum, the Bodleian and Sir Thomas Phillipps.¹

Heber's books and manuscripts are identifiable by the small black oblong stamp BIBLIOTHECA HEBERIANA occurring in a large number of his

White Knight Lib.
£ 1.3 0



Note by Richard Heber, with his stamp, on the fly-leaf of *Les Œuvres de Madame Helisenne de Crenne* (1560), belonging to S. de Ricci.

volumes, on the right-hand upper corner of the fly-leaf, or else by his easily recognized notes penned in the same place, usually stating the origin, cost and date of purchase.

The real strength of Heber's library was, however, in the field of early English literature, especially poetry and the drama. For thirty years he collected systematically and purchased nearly every item which came on the market. His name occurs as a buyer in every priced sale-catalogue of that period, Roxburghe, Bindley, White Knights, etc. He studied his books closely and, on several occasions, started to catalogue them.

¹ Sir Frederic Madden's copy, in the British Museum (Department of MSS.), contains valuable notes made at the time of the sale.

The whole of his efforts would however have been vain, his beautiful collection would have been scattered to the winds, if, by a happy foresight, a little-known bibliophile had not made it his task to save it and to give it a new lease of life of nearly a century.

William Henry Miller, of Craigentenny (1789–1848), one of England's greatest book-collectors, has hardly received a mention in most histories of English literature. A member of Parliament from 1830 to 1841, he seems to have led a very quiet life, spending most of his time in book-shops and sale-rooms, carrying in his pocket the famous foot-rule which gave him the name of "Measure Miller".

His earliest purchases go back to the days of the Sykes sale (1824), where he secured a few very valuable items. At the Heber sales he spent thousands and thousands of pounds, mainly through the bookseller T. Thorpe, who afterwards became his librarian. He literally bought by the cartload and it was no mean achievement for the collector to mark in pencil, on the back of the upper cover of each volume, his initials WHM with the price he had paid and a reference to part so and so of the Heber sale.

Nor was he satisfied by his purchases in the sale-room. For several years he literally swept the floors of every book-shop in search of items which might have escaped him. He also attended various other sales of early English books and gradually completed what he got from Heber with selected items

from the libraries of Thomas Caldecott (1744-1833),¹ of the Middle Temple (9 December 1833),

pp. 2292
Bolland 2292 £7

W. Bolland
1811
 —

35. F. 15.

Signature of Sir William Bolland, from a Britwell book in the W. A. Clark library, at Los Angeles. Above, a note by W. H. Miller (in pencil) "PP. WHM. Bolland 2292: £7"; below, in pencil, the modern Britwell shelf-mark (which in the original is near the foot of the page).

an enthusiastic Shakespearean scholar, who bequeathed to the Bodleian, in order to complete the Malone collection, his six rarest Shakespeares (including the *Sonnets* of 1609); of Joseph Haslewood (1769-1833),² an editor of several famous English texts (sale on 16 December 1833); of Sir Francis

¹ Cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part iv (1893).

² Haslewood's collection of broadside proclamations is in the Duke of Buccleuch's library at Dalkeith; his real hobby was to make scrap-books and collected volumes of tracts to which he gave absurd alliterative titles such as "Nutmegs for Nightingales" or "Quaffing Quavers to Quip Queristers".

Freeling (1764-1836),¹ the able secretary of the Post Office (sale on 25 November 1836); of Sir William Bolland (1772-1840), one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, a friend of Dibdin, who calls him "Hortensius" (sale on 18 November 1840); of George Chalmers (1742-1825), the noted Scottish antiquary (sales on 27 September 1841, 7 March and 10 November 1842); of Edward Skegg (sale on 4 April 1842; the autographs on 17 June 1842); of Thomas Jolley, a forgotten collector whose seven sales lasted from 1843 to 1853²; of Archdeacon Francis Wrangham (1769-1842), a poet and a prolific writer on theology (sales on 12 July and 29 November 1843); of Benjamin Heywood Bright, an omnivorous bibliophile, whose library was sold in five portions (1844-1845)³; lastly of William Holgate, of the Post

1 Part I (theology), 20 February 1843; part II, 9 June 1843; part III, 11 March 1844; part IV, 10 June 1844; part V, 23 June 1851; part VI, 15 June 1852; part VII, 18 May 1853 (books on London). The early English literature is mainly to be found in parts II, III and IV. Jolley's books nearly all bore his signature with the date of purchase.

2 Wrangham's signature occurs on every book in his library; in 1842 he gave to Trinity College, Cambridge, a collection of 10,000 pamphlets bound in 996 volumes. On his library, cf. John Cole, *A bibliographical and descriptive tour from Scarborough to the library of a philobiblist in its neighbourhood* (Scarborough, 1824, 12mo), and Wrangham's privately printed catalogue (70 copies only): *The English portion of the library of the Ven. Francis Wrangham, M.A., F.R.S., Archdeacon of Cleveland* (Malton, 1826, 8vo).

3 Part I (law library), 3 June 1844; part II (manuscripts), 18 June 1844; part III (literature, etc.), 3 March 1845; part IV (natural history, etc.), 12 April 1845; part V (remaining portion), 7 July 1845. The sale number is to be found pencilled inside

Office (sale on 8 June 1846), the owner of a number of scarce English plays.

Up to the last years of his life, W. H. Miller had refrained from collecting the early English drama, doubtless because he was unwilling to compete with such generous buyers as the Duke of Devonshire and George Daniel; but, when the Holgate sale came, he simply could not resist the temptation.

Our collector had long contemplated the publication of a catalogue; but he died in 1848, without having even begun it, leaving his estate of Britwell Court, Burnham, Buckinghamshire, to a cousin, Miss Marsh, from whom it passed, before 1852, to Samuel Christy, M.P., better known as S. Christie Miller.

The new owner's interest in the library was somewhat spasmodic. In 1852, with the assistance of David Laing, he printed thirty copies of a *Specimen of a proposed catalogue of a portion of the library at Britwell House* (Edinburgh, 1852, 4to).

About 1858 he had the library thoroughly overhauled by T. Thorpe and many of the books were on that occasion bound or re-bound by Francis Bedford.

In 1873 he actually printed two volumes of a catalogue, to which he added a third, in 1876.¹

every book of the library. A number of minor items were cased in pink paper boards with a green leather back, Bright's favourite binding. These particularities make books from this library unusually easy to recognize.

¹ *Catalogue of the library of S. Christie Miller, Esq., Britwell, Bucks*: Divinity (London, 1873, 4to); *Voyages and Travels* (1873); *British History* (1876).

Portions of others exist in proof-sheets. But the few copies struck off of these three volumes all remained at Britwell and bibliographers seem to have ignored their very existence. He discarded a certain number of books in two sales at Sotheby's (29 June 1854: "English poetry . . . from the extensive library of an eminent collector, deceased"; 27 June 1881: "Duplicates from the historical and geographical portions of the Britwell library"). He also considerably increased the library, by various purchases, notably at the Corser sales, in 1868 and the following years. In the last years of his life he added a few very valuable items, secured in various sales from 1885 to 1889 through an agent named Barford.

After S. Christie Miller's death (5 April 1889) the library passed to Wakefield Christie Miller, who also purchased a few but fine books, including the inestimable volumes from Lamport Hall, which he had bound by Pratt, mainly in citron morocco, with the Britwell arms. After his death (1898) the administrators of his estate acquired for the library a few costly volumes, the last purchases being (1898) the three Caxtons from the Maurice Johnson collection. A few duplicates were discarded at Sotheby's on 2 June 1908, as "The property of a Gentleman" (lots 273-287), on 15 December 1908 (lots 428-506), as "The property of S. R. Christie Miller, Esq.", and on 24 February 1910 (452 lots), as "Books . . . from the Britwell Court Library".

At that time the whole of the great collection

was still intact, although practically inaccessible to scholars.

In the summer of 1916, the owner, Mr S. R. Christie Miller, decided to part with a portion of his library and Messrs Sotheby catalogued the extremely valuable Americana for a sale, which was scheduled to take place on 15 August of that year. Before that date, the whole contents of the catalogue (346 lots) were purchased, it is said for £40,000, by George D. Smith, of New York, acting for the late Mr Henry E. Huntington, who chose what he wanted and sold the rest by auction (New York, 24 January 1917).

Since then, every year has brought us one or two Britwell sales, the total proceeds of which have been over half a million sterling, the largest sum ever obtained by the sale of any library in any country. At one single session, on 16 December 1919, 108 lots sold for the extraordinary amount of £110,356. At all these sales, the chief buyer was the late Mr Henry E. Huntington, represented, first by George D. Smith and, after 1922, by Dr A. S. W. Rosenbach.

The only Englishman who has bought heavily at these auctions is Sir R. Leicester Harmsworth, who purchased privately the large theological collection which was to be sold on 31 January 1921.

The British Museum was compelled, through lack of funds, to be extremely modest in its acquisitions, even though its bills, in every case, were quietly settled by Mr S. R. Christie Miller himself.

The accompanying list of the Britwell sales will be found of service, as I do not believe that it exists in any other publication:

[i] 15 August 1916. Americana (nearly all in the English language) and De Bry's Voyages. 346 lots. Sold privately to H. E. Huntington.

[ii] 31 July 1917. Incunabula (described as "The property of a gentleman"). 1168 lots.

[iii] 30 June 1919. Voyages and foreign history. 897 lots.

[iv] 15 December 1919. Early English music. 166 lots.

[v] 28 November (deferred to 16 December) 1919. English literature. 108 lots.

[vi] 3 May 1920. Fine old bindings. 507 lots (including 464 from the De Thou library).

[vii] 5 May 1920. Early English theology, part 1. 516 lots.

[viii] 14 June 1920. Early English romances. 317 lots.

[ix] 31 January 1921. Early English theology, part 11. 550 lots. Sold privately to Sir R. Leicester Harmsworth.

[x] 10 March 1921. Early English literature. 321 lots.

[xi] 6 February 1922. Early English literature. 719 lots.

[xii] 12 March 1923. Early English literature. 734 lots.

[xiii] 31 March 1924. Early English literature. 858 lots.

[xiv] 7 April 1924. Miscellaneous literature. 652 lots.

[xv] 23 March 1925. Early English literature. 692 lots.

[xvi] 30 March 1925. Early English science. 797 lots.

[xvii] 15 March 1926. Later English literature.
707 lots.

[xviii] 22 March 1926. English law and history.
570 lots.

[xix] 28 March 1927. Final portion. 2151 lots.

[xx] 11 July 1927. Unsold and imperfect books.
183 lots.

[xxi] 25 July 1927, lots 456-486. Omitted books.

It should also be noted that a few very scarce Britwell books were placed in a miscellaneous sale at Sotheby's on 29 April 1918, lots 382-481 *passim* (e.g. nos. 427, 428, etc.) and that a few stray Britwell items were sold at Hodgson's on 27 July 1922 (lots 230-239). The late owner of the library has announced his intention of publishing a complete index to the above twenty sales, thereby giving us a more adequate idea of the library than can easily be obtained by a perusal of the actual auction-catalogues, in which the works of any individual author have to be sought for in a number of different places.

It may be added that the Britwell library¹ contained also a small and select collection of first editions of nineteenth-century English authors, which Mr S. R. Christie Miller has retained as a memento of his great library.

Heber X

Cal. J. J.
24 Nov. 1865

Notes in the handwriting of W. H. Miller and T. Thorpe, from a Britwell book (*Spinulae opera*, 1563), belonging to S. de Ricci.

Britwell books may be recognized by the Britwell arms stamped in gold on the bindings of a

¹ On the Britwell library, cf. the very brief account by W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 355-8.

number of the more valuable volumes; by the Britwell shelf-marks, neatly inscribed in pencil, a little below the centre of the reverse of the upper cover of the bindings. These shelf-marks occur only on books which were in the main library. A number of less important volumes never received them. Thirdly, by the manuscript accession-marks or collation-marks, pencilled at the top of the reverse of the upper cover either by W. H. Miller himself or (from *c.* 1858 to 1870) by T. Thorpe, the first in a bold scrawl, the latter in a minute slanting hand.

We have already pointed out the extraordinary importance of the Britwell library as a collection of old English books, the greatest ever brought together by a private individual. In many respects it rivalled or even surpassed the British Museum. It was extremely catholic, covering every branch of book-lore from theology to law, science, travel, history and literature. In poetry it was wonderfully complete and the successive owners deserve great credit for the minute care with which they gathered and preserved minor seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poems, in days when they were worth as many shillings (or even pence) as they now cost pounds.

We have already spoken of the considerable influence held by the booksellers Payne and Foss on their wealthy clients, from 1820 to 1850. This is best exemplified by the history of three or four libraries, which owe much to their sound judgment and discrimination.

The Hon. Thomas Grenville (1755-1846), after a brilliant parliamentary career, retired from public life in 1818 and devoted himself entirely to his books. He was a true bibliophile, in the highest sense of the word. He had a feeling for quality equal to that of Cracherode and there is hardly an item in his collection the condition of which was not capable of satisfying the most exacting collector. When he died he left his library to the British Museum, where it still fills the large square room opening on to the entrance hall. His 20,000 volumes form the greatest gift of books that any private individual has ever made to the Museum. He had fine books of every description, but he seems to have specialized in early Americana (he was the first collector to buy Columbus and Vespucci letters), Aldines, early Spanish and Italian books (Dante, Petrarch and Ariosto), classics (especially Aesop and Homer), books on Ireland and lastly incunabula on vellum, including the Mazarin Bible, the 1457 Psalter and the 1469 Livy. His catalogue, by Payne and Foss, is a lasting monument to his enlightened efforts as a collector.¹

Another client of Payne and Foss was Samuel Butler, Bishop of Lichfield, who made a collection of some 300 fine manuscripts and succeeded in building up a nearly perfect set of Aldines, largely

¹ Payne and Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana* (1842-1872, 4 vols. 8vo), part I (1842, 2 vols.), part II (1848), part III (1872). Cf. also W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 265-77; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 281-93; E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870), pp. 670-85.

based on the famous Renouard collection, sold at London on 26 June 1828. His remarkable library was dispersed after his death in three sales (parts I-II, 23 March and 1 June 1840; part III, 1841). The third sale never took place, his heirs having sold the manuscripts (for £2000) to the British Museum and the printed books to Payne and Foss.¹

Many of the Butler Aldines passed to Lord Gosford (about whom more hereafter) and to the second Earl of Powis (1785-1848), who before his father's death in 1830 not infrequently appears as "Lord Clive" in the priced catalogues of London sales. The Powis books, most of which bear on the fly-leaf the signature "Powis" with the year of purchase, were sold on 20 March 1923.²

In the late 'thirties, Payne and Foss helped the fifth Lord Vernon (1803-1866), who had succeeded to the title in 1835, to build up a choice library. A few years later, about 1840, another wealthy client of the same firm, Robert Stayner Holford (1808-1892), well known to art historians as a great collector of pictures and engravings, also desired to become a bibliophile. Lord Vernon was persuaded to part with a large portion

1 Only a few copies of part III are known to exist. On the Butler manuscripts, cf. this catalogue, pp. 48-64, nos. 548-735; *Catal. of additions to the MSS. in the British Museum, 1841-1845*, nos. 11828-12117; Sir T. Phillipps, *Catal. MSS. Magnae Britanniae*, I (1850), pp. 1-8, nos. 1-163.

2 The Aldines were sold as one lot and (with additions) have since been recatalogued by B. Quaritch, *Catalogue of a most important collection of publications of the Aldine press* (London, 1929, 4to).

of his books and this formed the nucleus of the Holford library.¹

It may be said that the Holford library was an exact replica of the *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*. We find in it the same beautifully-bound incunabula on vellum and *editiones principes* of the classics, the same Aldines, the same fine Shakespeare Folios (and Quartos), the same choice books on America, the same beautiful old French bindings, not to speak of the admirable illuminated manuscripts.

The library remained intact (and practically unexplored) for many years. Shortly before his death Sir George Holford (1860-1926), Robert Holford's son, sold privately about a hundred of his finest books to the Rosenbach Company, of Philadelphia and New York. After his death, several of the manuscripts were disposed of privately to various buyers, some of the finest going to the Pierpont Morgan library. The rest of the collection was sold at Sotheby's at extremely high prices.²

1 It is not known exactly which books Holford obtained from Lord Vernon. The indications, in the Holford sale-catalogue, that such and such a book was a Vernon copy, are not to be trusted, as they seem to rest on the mistaken belief that a certain manuscript catalogue in the Holford library was that of the Vernon books. The Vernon library containing all the books not sold to Holford or those subsequently purchased by Lord Vernon was sold at Sotheby's on 10 June 1918, 19 October 1921 (lots 301-853) and 16 July 1928 (lots 1-165).

2 On the Holford manuscripts, cf. Waagen, *Treasures of art in Great Britain*, II, pp. 205-21; R. Benson, *The Holford Collection, Westonbirt* (London, 1924, 4to); R. Benson, *The Holford Collection, Dorchester House* (London, 1927, 2 vols. 4to). The sales of the library took place at Sotheby's on 12 July 1927 (part I, illuminations on vellum), 5 December 1927 (part II), 26 March 1928 (part III), 4 June 1928 (part IV), 12 November 1928 (lots

Two or three libraries, formed or dispersed in England in the first half of the nineteenth century, still require to be recorded here.

The extremely large, but not very handsome, collection of incunabula, mainly from German presses, formed by Dr Georg Kloss of Frankfurt, was sold by Sotheby on 7 May 1835. Every volume bore the Kloss book-plate and a reference to Panzer's *Annales*, neatly penned at the top of the reverse of the upper cover. A number of books bore early manuscript notes, which S. L. Sotheby ascribed, on the slenderest grounds, to the reformer Philip Melanchthon, an ascription which was emphatically contradicted by Kloss himself and a number of German scholars.¹

It may be noted that S. L. Sotheby had compiled a bibliography of Elizabethan literature with full records of all copies described in sale-catalogues, etc. The unpublished manuscript was sold in London many years ago and it would be most useful to scholars if any one were able to discover its present location.

Although the library of Horace Walpole, fourth

227-293: imperfect and other books), and 29 July 1929 (lots 1-9: the nine manuscripts not disposed of privately). The Holford illuminations on vellum, sold on 12 July 1927, came largely, perhaps entirely, from the W. Young Ottley sale (11 May 1838). A fine series, of identical character, was bought at the same Ottley sale by Lord Northwick and sold at Sotheby's on 16 November 1925 (lots 104-162), 29 March 1926 (lots 368-379) and 21 May 1928 (lots 1-14).

¹ Cf. S. L. Sotheby, *Unpublished documents, marginal notes and memoranda, in the autograph of Philip Melanchthon and of Martin Luther* (London, 1840, Fol.).

Earl of Orford (1717-1797), sold at Strawberry Hill on 25 April 1842, contained some very valuable books and manuscripts, the interest attached to it was on the whole more sentimental than strictly bibliographical.

The manuscripts collected about 1830, mainly in the Levant, by Robert Curzon, fourteenth Baron Zouche (1810-1873), of Parham, Sussex, were presented in 1917 to the British Museum, where they had been deposited on loan for some time.¹

With the assistance of the surgeon and bibliographer Thomas J. Pettigrew (1791-1865), a very large library of Bibles, manuscripts and early-printed books was formed, from about 1815, by the Duke of Sussex (1773-1843), the sixth son of George III. The six sales of his collections (1844-1845) produced but a small portion of what he had spent on them, although he had bought with good judgment, because they took place in the years when prices were at their very lowest. The two biggest buyers were Sir Thomas Phillipps and the British Museum.²

1 Cf. R. Curzon, *Catalogue of materials for writing . . . and other manuscripts . . . in the library of the Hon. Robert Curzon* (London, 1849, Fol.), 50 copies printed; Sir T. Phillipps, *Catal. MSS. Magnae Britanniae*, 1 (1850), p. 9. The Curzon printed books were disposed of in Lady Zouche's sale at Sotheby's, 9 November 1920.

2 The six sales took place on 1 July 1844 (Bibles), 31 July 1844 (manuscripts), 12 August 1844 (topography), 30 January 1845 (history, etc.), 22 April 1845 (incunabula, etc.) and 11 August 1845 (miscellaneous). A small portion of the library is described in T. J. Pettigrew's *Bibliotheca Sussexiana* (London, 1827 and 1839, 2 parts in 3 vols. 4to).

CHAPTER X

SIR THOMAS PHILLIPPS

IN the preceding pages, we have met repeatedly with the name of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), the greatest collector of manuscript matter the world has ever known. The anonymous account of his library printed in 1896 in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is so excellent and accurate that I have taken the liberty to reprint part of it, adding in footnotes what supplementary information I have found it advisable to add.

Let us first listen to the collector's own account of his efforts, in a preface (1837) to his privately printed catalogue.

In amassing my collection of manuscripts, I commenced with purchasing everything that lay within my reach, to which I was instigated by reading various accounts of the destruction of valuable manuscripts....

My principal search has been for historical, and particularly unpublished, manuscripts, whether good or bad, and more particularly those on vellum. My chief desire for preserving vellum manuscripts arose from witnessing the unceasing destruction of them by gold-beaters; my search for charters or deeds, by their destruction in the shops of glue-makers and tailors.

As I advanced, the ardour of the pursuit increased, until at last I became a perfect vello-maniac (if I may coin a word), and I gave any price that was asked. Nor do I regret it, for my object was not only to secure good manuscripts for myself, but also to raise the public

estimation of them, so that their value might be more generally known, and, consequently, more manuscripts preserved. For nothing tends to the preservation of anything so much as making it bear a high price. The examples I always kept in view were Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Robert Harley.

The following instructive paragraphs are from the pen of his anonymous biographer, with foot-notes, as stated before, by the author of these lectures:

The earliest of his large purchases of manuscripts Phillipps made, while on a prolonged visit to the Continent, between 1820 and 1825, when he visited Belgium, Holland, France, Germany, and Switzerland.

In 1824, at the sale at The Hague of the famous Meerman collection of manuscripts, Phillipps was the chief buyer—in fact three-fourths of these valuable manuscripts passed into his hands; but, owing to his unwillingness to bid against Thomas Gaisford, Dean of Christ Church, the Bodleian Library was able to acquire a few important volumes.¹

¹ The *Bibliotheca Meermanniana* (sold at The Hague, 1824, 4 vols. 8vo) contained the whole of the manuscripts of the Jesuit "Collège de Clermont" at Paris, catalogued in 1764, for a sale which never took place. At the Meerman sale Phillipps secured the Phillipps MSS. 1388–2010 to which he subsequently added by single purchases about fifty other Meerman manuscripts.

Among the Meerman manuscripts which he failed to secure, were the Bodleian purchases (Bodl. 20579–20637), those of Baron Westreenen (now at The Hague) and those made by the Duke of Sussex (nos. 127, 226, 230, 240, 335, 339, 346 and 419 of his sale in 1844). It should be noted that of these last, no. 226 is in the British Museum and no. 240 = Ph. 11812. There are also stray Meerman manuscripts at Liège (MS. Liège 492), at Chantilly (MS. 1946 = 1479) and in the Chester Beatty collection.

When the Phillipps library began to be broken up, a short cata-

In the same year, another great series of manuscripts, dating from the ninth century, Phillipps purchased privately from Professor [Leander] Van Ess of Darmstadt. Most of these were formerly in German monasteries, and, though chiefly theological, were of importance for the study of old German dialects.¹

In Belgium, he acquired large batches of early manuscripts on vellum, coming from the libraries of famous monasteries. At the Chardin sale in Paris² he obtained upwards of 120 manuscripts, and at the Celotti sale,³ more than 150. In 1827, Phillipps persistently outbid the agent of the Dutch Government at the sale of the Musschenbroek collection⁴ of charters, chronicles and cartularies dealing with the history of Utrecht and other provinces of Holland.

logue was printed of the larger group of the Meerman manuscripts, *A catalogue of the Phillipps manuscripts, numbers 1388–2010* (Cheltenham, 1886, 8vo); a more elaborate catalogue was published by the Berlin authorities: *Verzeichniss der von der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin erworbenen Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps* (Berlin, 1892, 4to); the Latin MSS. are again described by V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften*, I, *Die Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps* (Berlin, 1893, 4to); the illuminated volumes by Joachim Kirchner, *Die Phillipps-Handschriften* (Leipzig, 1926, 4to).

1 Phillipps MSS. 387–759, 4480, 6833–6835, 20742, 21985, 21986. A small series of Van Ess manuscripts, sold about the same date, now belongs to the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

2 Phillipps MSS. 265, 762–883, 2799–2831. Chardin's library was sold at Paris, 9 February 1824. There is also a privately printed anonymous catalogue: *Catalogue de livres précieux manuscrits et imprimés sur peau-vélin du cabinet de M.*** (Paris, 1811, 8vo).

3 Phillipps MSS. 884–1035, 2660, 2878–2881, etc. The Celotti sale took place on 14 March 1825 (previous sale on 26 February 1821). Celotti was an Italian priest who collected manuscripts in Italy and sold them in London.

4 Phillipps MSS. 3207–3334, 3562–3570, 11052, 17181.

When again settled in England, he was in constant communication with the most important English and foreign booksellers. From Thorpe, whom he first commissioned to search for manuscripts in 1822, he obtained some of his largest and most valuable collections. In 1836, he bought of him upwards of 1600 manuscripts.¹

Before 1830 he acquired many important classical manuscripts from the Drury collection,² the Lang collection of French romances,³ the Battlesden library belonging to Sir Gregory Page Turner,⁴ the Williams

Phillipps MSS

Accession-number in a Phillipps manuscript, belonging to S. de Ricci.

3381

collection which included Bishop Gundulf's celebrated Bible,⁵ the Craven Ord collection,⁶ rich in chronicles, cartularies, household books of kings, queens and nobles, and the Earl of Guilford's splendid collection of Italian manuscripts⁷ in more than 1300 volumes. At a

1 Phillipps MSS. 8539-10185, etc. Cf. T. Thorpe, *Catalogue of upwards of fourteen hundred manuscripts* (London, 1836, 8vo); cf. also Thorpe's catalogue for 1834 entitled *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Southwellianae*.

2 Sale on 19 February 1827. Phillipps MSS. 3335-3403, 3513, 3514, etc.

3 Sale on 17 November 1828. Phillipps MSS. 3626-3669.

4 Sale on 19 October 1824. Phillipps MSS. 3097-3206, 10364, 13333.

5 Sale on 5 April 1827. Phillipps MSS. 3499-3506. The Bible (Phillipps MS. 3504) is now in the H.E. Huntington library.

6 Sale on 25 June 1829, 25 January 1830 and 9 May 1832. Phillipps MSS. 3783-3868, 4089-4134, 6949, etc.

7 Phillipps MSS. 3886-3889, 4218, 4912-6459, 6734-6737, 6899, 6910, 6950, 6953, 6973, 6989, 6992, 7019, 7081, 7115-7398 *passim*, 7448-7872, etc.

later period, he secured the manuscripts respecting Mexico, belonging to Lord Kingsborough, whom Phillipps had first recommended to study Mexican subjects;¹ French Revolution papers,² in some eight or nine hundred volumes; the Hanbury Williams,³ the Ker Porter⁴ and Roscoe⁵ correspondence, likewise fell into his hands. In 1836, he obtained over 400 lots from the Heber collection, including valuable volumes of early English poetry and French romances.⁶ He also acquired the historical collection, in ninety-seven volumes, of charters, grants, rolls, together with the original cartulary and other evidences, relating to Battle Abbey since its foundation.⁷

Among manuscripts relating to Ireland that found their way into Phillipps's library from the Cooper, O'Reilly, Betham, Monck Mason, Todd and other collections,⁸ was a far-famed manuscript of Giraldus Cambrensis of the twelfth to the thirteenth century, illustrated with spirited contemporary drawings.⁹

1 Sale on 1 November 1842. Phillipps MSS. 11531, 11632-11651, 11691-11710, 11795-11804, 13300-13316, etc.

2 Phillipps MSS. 3542, etc.

3 Phillipps MSS. 10846, 10876-10944, 11374-11410, 11659-11660.

4 Phillipps MSS. 14524-14778, 15546-15586, etc.

5 Phillipps MSS. 13700-13718, 14264, 15128-15133.

6 Sale on 10 February 1836. Phillipps MSS. 8070-8497, etc.

7 Phillipps MSS. 9887-9940 and 19120. Cf. T. Thorpe, *Descriptive catalogue of the . . . muniments of Battle Abbey* (London, 1835, 8vo). The collection is now in the H. E. Huntington library.

8 For Austin Cooper's and E. O'Reilly's collections, cf. Phillipps MSS. 6460-6489, 6931, 7021-7022, 9745, 10258-10297; for Sir W. Betham, MSS. 13200-13316, 13562, 15144-15355, etc.; for W. Monck Mason, MSS. 17042-17093*, 17577-17583, 17725-17727, 18250, 22264; for the Rev. J. H. Todd, MSS. 23016-23072.

9 Phillipps MS. 6914.

In the history and literature of Wales, Phillipps took peculiar interest, and his large collection was rich in old Welsh poetry. Among the Welsh treasures was one of the four famous books of Wales, i.e. Aneurin's "Gododin", a manuscript of the twelfth century, on vellum.¹

Of Oriental manuscripts, Phillipps owned some four or five hundred volumes, and among many valuable Greek manuscripts was a splendid manuscript of Dioscorides of the tenth to eleventh century on vellum, beautifully illustrated.²

Phillipps's illuminated manuscripts were of rare beauty; some of them had been executed for the Medici, Charles VIII of France, Pope Nicholas V,³ Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, and other important persons. The gem of the library was a thirteenth-century volume of miniatures, representing numerous incidents of Bible history beginning with the Creation.⁴

Another important feature of Phillipps's great storehouse were the manuscripts bound in ornamental metal and studded with crystals or gems....⁵ The whole of Phillipps's manuscripts ultimately numbered about 60,000.

The above reprinted account by no means

1 A large group of Phillipps MSS. relating to Wales was obtained in one purchase by the Cardiff library. Other volumes of a similar character have been gradually bought for Aberystwyth.

2 Phillipps MS. 21875, from the Payne sale (1857, no. 389), now in the Pierpont Morgan library. It was formerly in the Sestini and Rinuccini collections.

3 Phillipps MS. 4789.

4 Phillipps MS. 8025 A, from the Athanasi sale (15 March 1833, no. 201), sold in 1916 to the Pierpont Morgan library, and reproduced in 1927 for the Roxburghe Club.

5 E.g. Phillipps MSS. 3007, 16387, 16388, 16396, 16400 and 16411, all now in the Pierpont Morgan library.

exhausts the list of Phillipps's more important purchases; lack of space precludes us from adding to it anything but a brief mention of his acquisitions at the dispersal of the Oxinden and Dering manuscripts,¹ at the Dawson Turner sale² and the several sales of Guglielmo Libri's library.³

When our collector died, in 1872, the catalogue of his manuscripts which he had begun setting up as early as 1825 was printed as far as no. 23,837. A manuscript accession-list, preserved in the library and gradually continued after Phillipps's death, had reached, a few years ago, no. 36,000 and was not yet complete. It should be remembered that in the earlier days a whole series of manuscripts was often entered as one single number.

Housed at first at Middlehill, near Broadway, Worcestershire (hence the name, occasionally used, of *Codices Mediomontani*), the Phillipps collections were transferred in 1862 to Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, where they still remain.

Sir Thomas Phillipps had often meditated on the ultimate disposal of his library. As early as 1832 he wrote to Henry Ellis (later Sir Henry) of the British Museum a curious letter stating that his

¹ Sales at Puttick's, 8 June 1858, 10 July 1861, 4 February 1863 and 13 July 1865. Phillipps MSS. 14921-14952, 15730-15761 *passim*, 23240-23266 and many others. Cf. also a sale of Sir Edward Deering (*sic*), on 3 December 1811; H. R. Plomer, "The Oxinden Letters" in *The Library*, vi (1905), pp. 29-44.

² Sale on 6 June 1859. Phillipps MSS. 14807-14866, etc.

³ Notably on 28 March 1859, 25 July 1862 and 1 June 1864. Phillipps MSS. 16226-16415, etc.

manuscripts then numbered "over 8000 volumes, containing probably 20,000 articles". "You expressed a wish", he writes, "that I would consent to part with my library of manuscripts to the British Museum. It cannot be expected that I should make a gift of them after the enormous sum I have paid for them, but I am willing to cede them if the Nation will pay my debts, which I now owe. . . ."

At a later date, he is said to have contemplated bequeathing them to Bangor College, with the quaint provision that no Roman Catholic should be allowed access to the library.

By his will he finally bequeathed them to his third daughter, Mrs J. E. A. Fenwick, the mother of Mr T. Fitzroy Fenwick, the present owner. About 1880 it began to be rumoured that the library was coming on the market. An attempt to purchase it entire for the British Museum, the Bodleian and Cambridge, fell through, unluckily for those institutions, but not for the owners, as the price then discussed would now-a-days be considered a fair one for half-a-dozen fine manuscripts in the collection.

A few years later, the dispersal actually began, either by private contract or in sales by auction at Sotheby's, of which a complete list will be found below:

[i] 3 August 1886. Printed books, part I (3346 lots).

[ii] 22 January 1889. Printed books, part II (1413 lots).

[iii] 15 July 1891. Autograph letters, part I (542 lots).

- [iv] 7 December 1891. Printed books, part III (703 lots).
- [v] 4 July 1892. Autograph letters, part II (601 lots).
- [vi] 19 June 1893. Manuscripts, [part I] (915 lots).
- [vii] 21 March 1895. Manuscripts, [part II] (1285 lots).
- [viii] 10 June 1896. Manuscripts, [part III] (1441 lots).
- [ix] 17 May 1897. Manuscripts, [part IV] (826 lots).
- [x] 6 June 1898. Manuscripts, [part V] (1168 lots).
- [xi] 5 June 1899. Manuscripts, [part VI] (1258 lots).
- [xii] 27 April 1903. Manuscripts, [part VII] (1335 lots).
- [xiii] 15 June 1908. Manuscripts, [part VIII] (835 lots).
- [xiv] 6 June 1910. Manuscripts, [part IX] (908 lots).
- [xv] 24 April 1911. Manuscripts, [part X] (1143 lots).
- [xvi] 19 May 1913. Manuscripts, [part XI] (1137 lots).
- [xvii] 24 June 1919. Manuscripts, [part XII] (939 lots).
- [xviii] 9 July 1928. Printed books, [part IV] (414 lots).

From 1886 to the present day, a number of Phillipps manuscripts have been sold by private contract. The Meerman manuscripts (Phillipps MSS. 1388-2010) were bought in 1887 for the Berlin library. A number of Welsh volumes went to Cardiff. The Belgian and Dutch governments purchased large batches of manuscripts and documents for the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels and

the Provincial Archives at Utrecht. Other documents were secured for the Archives at Metz and at Bordeaux; a fine series of French charters on cartularies was obtained in 1908 by the Paris Bibliothèque nationale, and in 1912 Sir Max Waechter presented to the Berlin library a series of eighty manuscripts from old German cloisters.¹

About the same date a few exceptionally choice items were purchased for the Pierpont Morgan library and, in recent years, others have been obtained, either by Dr Rosenbach, acting in most cases for Mr Henry E. Huntington,² or by Mr A. Chester Beatty. But there are still at least 20,000 manuscripts at Cheltenham!

The Phillipps manuscripts are numbered continuously in one series from 1 to 36,000 and more. Every volume bears (or should bear) on the back a tiny printed strip of paper with the number. Inside the upper cover the number is repeated in ink in a bold, clear hand. The earlier purchases are marked in the same place with a black stamped crest, the number being added by hand.

It would be a task of extraordinary interest to locate the present whereabouts of the manuscripts already sold from the Phillipps collection. A tentative list published in 1909 by H. Omont,³ and

¹ Cf. *Mitteilungen aus der Königlichen Bibliothek*, III. *Die Schenkung Sir Max Waechters* (Berlin, 1917, 4to).

² He secured, for instance, practically the whole collection of incunabula.

³ H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits latins et français de la collection Phillipps acquis en 1908 pour la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1909), pp. 185-239.

completed, for the Berlin library, by E. Jacobs,¹ is all we have at present. It is to be regretted that the sale catalogues do not give a reference to the original Phillipps numbers.

As we have said before, Sir Thomas Phillipps printed his own catalogue, at his own private press. It is not a very remarkable typographical production, but it is a volume of great interest and considerable scarcity. The *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart.* (of which part I is dated: "Impressus typis Medio-Montanis mense Maio 1837") is a folio volume of 436 pages, describing 23,837 items.²

1 E. Jacobs, "Die von der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin aus der Sammlung Phillipps erworbenen Handschriften" in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxviii (1911), pp. 23-39. This does not include the Waechter donation of 1912.

2 Portions from it have been reprinted (with additions) by G. Haenel, *Catalogi* (1830), cols. 803-896 [nos. 1-2986] and from him in Migne's *Dictionnaire des Manuscrits*, II, cols. 155-268. Subsequent sections were reprinted more or less fully, by Haenel, in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie* [Suppl. vols.], VI (1840), pp. 546-94 [nos. 2899-4139]; VII (1841), pp. 594-617 [nos. 4140-4501]; VIII (1842), pp. 437-58 and 587-621 [nos. 4502-6135]; also in the *Serapeum*, xxiii (1862), *Intelligenzblatt*, pp. 177-83 and 185-90 [nos. 8074-15659]. A number of extracts on particular subjects have been printed in various periodicals in many cases supplemented by actual studies on the manuscripts themselves.

French history (in a very broad sense) is illustrated by H. Omont, "Manuscrits relatifs à l'histoire de France conservés dans la bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillipps à Cheltenham" in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, L (1889), pp. 68-96 and 180-217.

The illuminated manuscripts are described in the same periodical (*l. laud.*, pp. 381-432) by the late comte Paul Durrieu: "Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillipps à Cheltenham".

Germanic history (also taken in the broader sense) is illustrated in a series of articles, by G. H. Pertz, in his *Archiv*, vii (1839), pp. 95-101 and ix (1847), pp. 498-500; R. Pauli, *Neues Archiv*, ii (1877), pp. 429-32; G. Waitz, *ibid.*, iv (1879), pp. 585-608; F. Liebermann, *ibid.*, x (1884), pp. 588-94; K. Hampe, *ibid.*, xxii (1897), pp. 673-93.

For Germanic literature, cf. R. Priebisch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, i (1896), pp. 42-142 (description of 96 MSS.).

For patristic and classical manuscripts, cf. H. Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica*, i, 2: Die Phillips'sche Bibliothek in Cheltenham (Vienna, 1892, 8vo), 158 pp.

For cartularies, cf. *Index to cartularies now or formerly existing since the dissolution of monasteries*, by T[homas] P[hillipps] (Middlehill, 1839, 12mo), a few copies only.

Short accounts of the Phillipps library are given by J. B. Pitra, *Archives des Missions*, i (1850), pp. 557-79 (= *Dictionnaire des MSS.*, ii, cols. 267-286), and by W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 367-72.

CHAPTER XI

LORD ASHBURNHAM AND LIBRI

IN his vast purchases of manuscripts Sir Thomas Phillipps seems to have had only one rival—the fourth Earl of Ashburnham (1797–1878), also one of the great collectors of the nineteenth century.

Ashburnham's earliest purchases seem to date from about 1844; in the spring of 1847, he purchased, for £8000, from Guglielmo Libri (1803–1869), a splendid collection of 1923 manuscripts, containing a number of very early volumes, to which he added in 1849, for £6000, the collection of 702 manuscripts, mainly French, belonging to Joseph Barrois (1785?–1855), and, for £8000, also in 1849, the 996 Stowe manuscripts, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham and catalogued for an intended sale at Sotheby's on 11 June 1849.¹ A fourth collection of 251 manuscripts, nearly all of

¹ The Stowe manuscripts had been collected by the first Duke of Buckingham (1776–1839), who had inherited the collections of the antiquary Thomas Astle (1735–1803), the son-in-law of the Essex historian, the Rev. Philip Morant (1700–1770), and added to them the rare Irish manuscripts of the Balanagare collection, the owner of which, Charles O'Connor, had died in 1791. A catalogue was compiled for him by the Rev. Charles O'Connor, *Bibliotheca manuscripta Stowensis, a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Stowe library* (Buckingham, 1818–1819, 2 vols. 4to). The second Duke of Buckingham (1797–1861) was even more extravagant than his father and contracted enormous debts. His library of printed books was sold on 8 January and 9 August 1849. Cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part VII (1895); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 342–5.

the choicest quality, he formed by single purchases and called it the "Appendix".

His library of printed books was hardly of less importance. He had a wonderful collection of incunabula including some thirty Caxtons and two copies of the Mazarin Bible, one on vellum and one on paper, an exceptional quantity of books printed on vellum, a splendid series of English Bibles and liturgies, and a large number of the handsomest old bindings.

These printed books, of which he had compiled a brief and not very satisfactory catalogue,¹ were sold by auction twenty years after his death in a series of memorable sales.²

¹ *A catalogue alphabetically arranged of the more rare and curious printed books in the library at Ashburnham Place* (London, 1864, 4to).

² 25 June, 6 December 1897, 9 May, 13 December 1898. In all 4075 lots, which brought £62,712. 7s. 6d.

Lord Ashburnham, with the assistance of John Holmes, of the British Museum, had printed privately the following catalogues of his manuscripts:

Catalogue of the manuscripts at Ashburnham Place, part the first, comprising a collection formed by Professor Libri (London, [1853], 4to).

Catalogue of the manuscripts at Ashburnham Place, part the second, comprising a collection formed by Mons. J. Barrois (London, N.d., 4to).

Catalogue of the manuscripts at Ashburnham Place, Appendix (London, 1861, 4to).

To the above may be added an album of nine lithographed folio plates and an alphabetical index, forming a 4to volume, dated 1853.

Lord Ashburnham did not print a catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts, finding the auctioneer's catalogue of 1849 quite sufficient for his purpose.

A convenient abridgment of the Stowe Libri, Barrois and

The third Earl of Ashburnham, when he purchased the Libri and Barrois manuscripts, did not know that most of the finest items had been stolen, about 1840, from French public libraries. When his heir attempted to dispose of them, he met with considerable difficulties, no large library being willing to purchase stolen goods.

In 1883, the fourth Earl sold the Stowe manuscripts to the British Museum for £45,000.¹ In 1884 the Italian Government, which also had claims on many Ashburnham manuscripts, gave him £23,000 for the Libri collection "minus the manuscripts claimed by France, and plus the [ten] Dante manuscripts in the *Appendix*".

In 1887 the Paris Bibliothèque nationale succeeded in purchasing the 166 manuscripts claimed by France from the Libri and Barrois collections, for the price of £24,000, payable £6000 in cash by the Bibliothèque and £18,000 by the German government, who received in compensation from the Bibliothèque the celebrated "Manesse" manuscript formerly at Heidelberg and now back in its original location.

In 1901 the Barrois manuscripts (minus those returned to Paris) were sold at Sotheby's (10 June Appendix catalogues may be found in the third appendix to the *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.* (London, 1881, 4to), 127 pp.

¹ They have since been re-catalogued by E. J. L. Scott, *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1895-1896, 2 vols. 8vo). This describes only the manuscripts in the British Museum, all the Irish manuscripts having been sent to the library of the Royal Irish Academy, in Dublin.

1901) for over £26,000, a number being purchased by the Bibliothèque nationale, the British Museum and the Boston Public Library and for the Morgan, Walters and Fairfax Murray collections.¹

The Barrois manuscripts sold in 1901 all bear the original Barrois number written in black on a green circular paper label pasted on the binding



Label and sale-number on a Barrois manuscript,
belonging to S. de Ricci.

and the sale-number pencilled in blue, in a rough circle, at the foot of the reverse of the upper cover.

The fourth portion of the Ashburnham library, the Appendix, was sold in May 1897 for £30,000 to the late Mr Henry Yates Thompson, with the exception of the "Lindau Gospels" (MS. Appendix 9) purchased for £10,000 by J. Pierpont Morgan.² Thus was concluded the dispersal of the Ashburnham library, one of the greatest owned by any English collector since the days of Robert

¹ On the 1901 sale, cf. H. Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXII (1901), pp. 555-610 and LXIII (1902), pp. 10-68.

² For the subsequent fate of the Appendix manuscripts, *vide infra*, under H. Yates Thompson. The Appendix manuscripts bore a yellow circular label.

Harley.¹ Many Ashburnham manuscripts bear pencilled on the fly-leaf, in the noble owner's hand, short Latin notes to the binder, as "cor. subt." or "cor. virid."

Ashburnham printed books are quite easy to tell, once you have noticed that they all bear, in the centre of the reverse of the upper cover, a brief shelf-mark strongly penned in red ink.

The name of Guglielmo Libri, as the collector of one of the sections of the Ashburnham library, gives us an opportunity to mention the various sales by auction organized in London, from 1850 to 1864, by that misguided bibliographer. The catalogues were drawn up in a charlatanesque style with which English bibliophiles were quite unfamiliar and the success of these sales was far from brilliant. They contained, however, a large number of valuable books and manuscripts and, if used with some caution, will always be found of use to the bibliographer. The list of these sales is as follows (the earlier ones are by far the scarcer):

Sotheby. 19 February 1849. Fine books (anonymous).

Sotheby. 20 June 1853. Books and MSS. (anonymous).

Sotheby. 2 February 1857. Books (anonymous).

Sotheby. 28 March 1859. MSS. (1190 lots).

Sotheby. 1 August 1859. Books ("Choicer portion").

1 The best account is to be found in L. Delisle's preface to the *Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois* (Paris, 1888, 8vo). Cf. also F. S. Ellis, B. Quaritch and L. Delisle, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part x (1897); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 382-92.

Sotheby. 25 April 1861. Mathematics and history, part I.

Sotheby. 18 July 1861. Mathematics and history, part II.

Sotheby. 25 July 1862. Books and MSS. ("Reserved portion").

Sotheby. 1 June 1864. MSS. and works of art.

Puttick. 22 June 1865. *Bibliotheca curiosa* (anonymous).

Christie. 7 February 1895. MSS. and works of art.

In 1868, Messrs Puttick and Simpson published a list of prices and buyers at the sales of 28 March 1859, 1 August 1859 and 25 July 1862.

The biggest buyer of manuscripts at the Libri sales was Sir Thomas Phillipps; a number of fine printed books and choice bindings were purchased by the Rev. William Grylls (1786-1863), who bequeathed them in 1863 to Trinity College, Cambridge.¹

Manuscripts were also collected at the same period by the Rev. Walter Sneyd. In 1817 the Bodleian library had secured for about £6000 no less than 2047 manuscripts from the collection of the Venetian Jesuit Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1805). On 26 February 1821, a few volumes from the same source were included in one of Celotti's sales. The rest of the collection, some 915 manuscripts, was purchased in 1835 by Rev. Walter Sneyd, who re-sold a few at Sotheby's, on 25 June 1836, and retained the others until his death, parting only

¹ The remaining portion of his library was sold at Sotheby's on 8 April 1867. The books he bequeathed to Trinity College all bear on the title his armorial stamp in blind, with the motto "vires agminis unus habet".

with a single volume, a Marino Sanudo, which he sold in 1866, for £210, to the British Museum (Add. MS. 27376).¹

The Sneyd library was dispersed by auction on 16 December 1903 (£13,553 for 866 lots), a large number of the manuscripts being bought by the late C. Fairfax Murray.²

Autograph letters and historical papers were zealously collected by William Upcott (1779–1845), a natural son of the painter Ozias Humphry and at one time a bookseller's assistant. He owned no less than 32,000 letters of which he printed privately a brief catalogue.³ At his sale (15 June 1846) a large number of them were secured for the British Museum (Add. MSS. 15841–15959, etc.), some for the Phillipps collection, and others were bought by Captain Montagu Montagu (†1863), who bequeathed them to the Bodleian (Bodl. 25397).

Upcott's perpetual rival was the botanist and antiquary Dawson Turner (1775–1858), of Great Yarmouth, who likewise owned some 40,000 letters. In 1820 were offered for sale the manuscripts collected by a Suffolk antiquary, the Rev.

1 Cf. Sir T. Phillipps, *Catal. MSS. Magnae Britanniae*, 1 (1850), pp. 12–24 and 46–55, a very curious and hitherto unnoticed catalogue of the Sneyd manuscripts.

2 Cf. C. Foligno, "Di alcuni codici Gonzagheschi ed Estensi appartenuti all' abate Canonici" in *Il Libro e la Stampa*, 1 (1907), pp. 69–75. Further Sneyd sales, of minor importance, took place at Sotheby's on 28 November 1927, and at Hodgson's on 26 March 1929, lots 1–290, *passim*.

3 *Catalogue of original letters, MSS. and state papers collected by William Upcott of Islington* (London, 1836, 4to).

Cox Macro (1683-1767), which included many of Sir Henry Spelman's papers. The collection was bought entire by Hudson Gurney (1775-1864), of Keswick Hall, Norfolk, who kept the manuscripts (possibly still in his family), and by Dawson Turner, to whose share fell the autograph letters. In 1853 the latter sold five volumes of autographs, for £1000, to the British Museum (Add. MSS. 19398-19402); the remainder of his collection was sold in several sales, the most important being that of 6 June 1859, at which many volumes were obtained for the British Museum (Add. MSS. 22878-23125, etc.) and for Sir Thomas Phillipps (Phillipps MSS. 14807-14866, etc.), also a few for the Bodleian (Bodl. 28722-28727, etc.).

All the manuscripts and series of letters in Dawson Turner's library were uniformly bound in half-morocco, with dark-green backs and corner-pieces, the sides covered with mottled pink paper, and the titles stamped in gold along the backs in a framework of fillets and ornaments.¹

¹ Sales on 7 March 1853 (library, part 1); 26 April 1859 (library, part 11); 16 May 1859 (library, remaining part); 6 June 1859 (manuscripts and letters); 3 April 1860 (miscellaneous manuscripts); 3 April 1869 (autograph letters). Cf. *A catalogue of ancient manuscripts . . . formerly collected by the Rev. Dr Macro* (London, Feb. 1820, 4to); Dawson Turner, *Descriptive index of the contents of five manuscript volumes illustrative of the history of Great Britain* (Yarmouth, 1843, 8vo), and reprinted with additions (Great Yarmouth, 1851, 8vo).

CHAPTER XII

THE 'FIFTIES AND 'SIXTIES: HALLIWELL AND HUTH

WE will now resume our chronological survey, starting approximately with the year 1850.

In 1852 and 1857 was sold the library of Edward Vernon Utterson (1776?–1856), one of the last survivors of the Roxburghe sale. He collected mainly early English literature, and Italian, Spanish and French chivalry-romances and occupied a few years (1840–1843) in reprinting Elizabethan poems in his private press at Beldornie Tower, in the Isle of Wight. He used as a book-plate a handsome, circular, white-vellum label with his name, motto and arms. On the verso of the fly-leaf he often inscribed in ink in the upper left-hand corner the date and price of purchase, using a word-cipher which would doubtless be easy to solve.¹

o. o *Payne & Huth 1844,*
Handing c.
 a. o

Note by E. V. Utterson on the fly-leaf of an early printed book
(*Aretinus*, Foligno, 1470), belonging to Messrs Maggs.

¹ His sales, on 19 April 1852 and 20 March 1857, brought altogether some £8800. Cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part VII (1895).

The valuable library of John Dunn Gardner, sold in 1854, contained some fine Caxtons and other English books, among which were some splendid early English Bibles. He pencilled the date of purchase on the end-leaf of each book, a

249 Utterston's sale (thru Pick) 52

not coll.

*Lilly - 1855
from my brother's sale
nt/-
229*

Notes by John Dunn Gardner and Cecil Dunn Gardner on the end-leaf of *Aretinus* (Foligno, 1470), belonging to Messrs Maggs.

custom followed by his brother Cecil Dunn Gardner, whose library was sold twenty-six years later.¹

Another collector of English Bibles was Francis Fry (1803-1886) of Bristol, a partner in the well-known firm of cocoa and chocolate manufacturers,

¹ John Dunn Gardner sale, 6 July 1854 (the remaining part, 18 November 1875); Cecil Dunn Gardner sale, 21 June 1880; cf. Cyril Dunn Gardner sale, 10 July 1897.

who spent all his leisure hours in comparing copies of the early editions of the Scriptures in English and establishing the variations between the editions and issues. His publications are still the leading authorities on the subject. His unrivalled collection was purchased in 1890, for £6000, by the British and Foreign Bible Society and has been fully described in the catalogue published by that institution. A few of his duplicates have come on the market in various small sales.¹

A well-known Oxonian historian, the Rev. Philip Bliss (1787-1857), had accumulated one of the largest known collections of books on Oxford, or by Oxford authors, or printed at Oxford. He noted his ownership of each volume by adding a "P" before the signature letter "B" and if the thickness of the volume went so far by adding a "B" after the signature "P".²

In 1862 was sold the library of Miss Richardson Currer (1785-1861), England's earliest female bibliophile; Richard Heber at one time contemplated marrying her; was he more interested in the lady or in her books?³

1 Cf. T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1 (London, 1903, 8vo). Books from the library of Francis Fry were sold at Sotheby's on 15 January 1890, at Puttick's on 4 December 1905, and at Puttick's again on 23 January 1918 (lots 132-189).

2 Sales on 28 June, 9 August, 21 August and 8 November 1858. An earlier sale had taken place on 11 January 1811. Many of Bliss's books are now in the Bodleian and other Oxford libraries. The facsimile page of a Bliss Book, as given overleaf, is from a volume belonging to Messrs Maggs.

3 The sale, on 30 July 1862, realized nearly £6000. Miss

From whence was it then that so many seditions, so many commotions, and so many rebellions were dayly set on foote, and euery day conspired, practised and put in execution, still one in anothers necke.

Why the world doth know it, they were the practises of Papists, it is the poyson of the Popes doctrine, that inciteth to seditions, to rebellions, and that setteth subiectes against their Soueraignes.

It is an *Axiome* of *Theologie*, holden and defended by *Iesuites* to murder Princes, and this is holden by their greatest doctors, as *Sanders*, *Parsons*, *Alline*, *Stapleton*, and diuers others: so that popish religion teacheth, alloweth and defendeth treasons, rebellions, and periuries.

And looke into their great *Bellarmines* writings, that hath taken such paines in the behalfe of the Pope: and you shall finde that his wholl doctrine consisteth in nothing, but that the Pope may degrade *Emperours*, *Kinges*, *Princes*, and *Potentates*, that hee may abrogate their lawes, may dispence with their subiectes for their alleadgeance, that they may take armes against their Soueraignes, and that they may rebell: see heere the iust iudgement of God, vpon that proude and wicked generation, whome hee hath giuen vp to the monstrous sinnes of murder and treason, the most hatefull offences, that the wickedest man can commit, and such sinnes, as aboue all other are most hated and detested, and yet they are maintained, admitted, and vpholden by the Pope, and that viperous broode, that be of his generation.

The papistes doe seeke to compell but they will not bee compelled, they grudge at easie penalties, and at sleight restraints, when they themselues, doe exact most cruell, and vnchristianlike tragedies: what inquisition, what burning, what murdering by hundreds, and by thousands, without any respect, eyther of innocency or of ignorance: but of what persecution can our Papistes of *Ireland*, charge that gracious *Queene*, vnlesse because shee would not suffer the firebrand of Rome to take her crowne from her head, and to giue her subiectes leaue by treason and rebellion, to deprive her of her estate in that kingdome: they can not say that shee euer inflicted any corporall punishment vpon them for their religion, nor yet exacted any paymentes cut of

The following year died the bibliographer Beriah Botfield (1807-1863), the author of the useful *Notes on Cathedral Libraries of England* (1849). His valuable library, comprising many important vellum incunabula and a couple of fine Caxtons, is still preserved in the Bath family.

A learned theologian, the Rev. William Maskell (1814?-1890), was in the habit of building up collections of books and works of art and selling them to public institutions. He printed privately, in 1843 and 1845, two catalogues, one of early English theology, the other of rare English liturgies, the contents of which he sold to the British Museum. What remained of his library was disposed of by auction after his death.¹

The interest in the collecting of early editions of Shakespeare had never entirely disappeared. But

Currer had twice printed her catalogue: *Catalogue of the library at Eshton-Hall in the County of York* (London, 1820, 8vo), 40 copies printed; C. J. Stewart, *A catalogue of the library collected by Miss Richardson Currer at Eshton Hall, Craven, Yorkshire* (London, 1833, 8vo), printed for private circulation (100 copies). Not all the library was sold in 1862. The remaining portion appears in the sale of Sir Mathew Wilson (31 May 1916). On Sir Mathew Wilson's papers, cf. *Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.* (1870), pp. 293-300.

¹ Sale on 26 February 1891. Maskell's two catalogues are entitled: *Selected centuries of books from the library of a priest in the diocese of Salisbury* (Chiswick, 1843, 12mo), and *Catalogue of books used in and relating to the public services of the Church of England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Chiswick, 1845, 16mo). The duplicates from this second catalogue, which were not required for the Museum, were sold at Sotheby's, 30 August 1848; many books from Maskell's collection were included in the anonymous sale (of Mr Horner) at Sotheby's, 19 May 1854.

its real revival was due to the unflagging industry of the laborious Shakespearean scholar J. O. Halliwell (1820-1889), a son-in-law of Sir Thomas Phillipps; in 1872, after the latter's death, Halliwell obtained permission to call himself Halliwell-Phillipps. Since his youth he had collected books and manuscripts, mainly relating to Shakespeare, but although he was the most liberal of men and always willing to make large gifts to public institutions, he found himself on many occasions compelled to sell the more valuable items in his library.

The bibliography of his various sales and catalogues is very intricate and the accompanying notes are probably far from complete. As a boy of seventeen, while at Trinity College, Cambridge, he made a collection of some 130 mathematical and astrological manuscripts which he sold in 1840 to Rodd.¹ In 1844, it was discovered that several of these manuscripts (which meantime had been purchased by the British Museum) had been abstracted from the library at Trinity College. In spite of Halliwell's definite assertion that he had bought these volumes from a deceased London bookseller named Denley, he was long suspected of having obtained them by unlawful means.²

¹ *A catalogue of the scientific manuscripts in the possession of J. O. Halliwell, Esq.* (London [1839 or 1840], 8vo), reprinted by Sir T. Phillipps, *Catal. MSS. Magnae Britanniae*, 1 (1850), pp. 43-5; these pages were subsequently cancelled by Phillipps and only exist in one or two copies. Two sales were held at Sotheby's of Halliwell's books (25 June 1840) and manuscripts (27 June 1840).

² *Statements in answer to reports which have been spread abroad against Mr James Orchard Halliwell* (London, W. A.

In 1851 Halliwell presented to the Chetham library, Manchester, a collection of 3100 ballads, proclamations and other broadsides¹; the following year he sent to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington "a collection of several thousand bills, accounts, and inventories illustrating the history of prices" between 1650 and 1750.²

In 1852, he issued a catalogue of "Shakespeare reliques", books, manuscripts, etc. which he sold to Lord Warwick³: they are now in the Folger library.

Wright, 1845, 8vo), 24 pp. A little later was issued *A catalogue of chap-books, garlands and popular histories in the possession of James Orchard Halliwell, Esq.* (London, 1849, 8vo).

1 *A catalogue of proclamations, broadsides, ballads and poems, presented to the Chetham Library, Manchester, by James O. Halliwell* (London, 1851, 4to), 100 copies only.

2 *Some account of a collection of several thousand bills, accounts and inventories, illustrating the history of prices between the years 1650 and 1750, presented to the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, by J. O. Halliwell* (London, 1862, 4to), 80 copies only.

3 *Catalogue of Shakespeare reliques: some account of the antiquities, coins, manuscripts, rare books, ancient documents and other reliques illustrative of the life and works of Shakespeare...* (Brixton Hill, 1852, 4to), 80 copies only. To this should be added the following booklets:

A Garland of Shakespeariana recently added to the library and museum of James O. Halliwell, Esq., at Avenue Lodge, Brixton Hill (Brixton Hill, 1854, 4to), 25 copies only.

A brief account of theological manuscripts in the library of James O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., at Avenue Lodge, Brixton Hill (Brixton Hill, 1854, 4to).

Descriptive notices of works in a small collection of Sydneian literature in the library of J. O. Halliwell... (Brixton Hill, 1854, 4to).

Brief notices of bibliographical rarities... (London, 1855, 4to), 25 copies only.

A lyttle boke gevinge a true and brief accounte of some reliques and curiosities added of late to Mr Halliwell's Shakespeare collection (London, 1856, 4to), 25 copies only.

A few years later, in four sales at Sotheby's, he disposed of most of his beautiful Shakespeare Quartos,¹ reserving the eighteen best (including the 1603 *Hamlet*!) for the British Museum, who gave £1000 for them in November 1858, and who also secured from Halliwell the celebrated Shakespeare signature of 1613.

In 1866 and following years he gave nearly 1800 volumes to the town library at Penzance² and, in 1872, he presented to Edinburgh University a collection of Shakespeare Quartos and other rare books.

In his last residence, at Hollingbury Copse, near Brighton, he had accumulated, at the end of his life, an important Shakespearean library on which he published a number of books and pamphlets:

A brief list of some of the rarer and most curious old-book rarities in the library of J. O. Halliwell...illustrative chiefly of early English popular literature (West Brompton, 1862, 4to).

Hand-list of upwards of a thousand volumes of Shakespeare added to the three previous collections of a similar kind formed by J. O. Halliwell...and of which lists have been previously printed (London, 1862, 4to), 25 copies only.

1 Sales on 23 May 1856, 21 May 1857, 14 June 1858 and 13 June 1859.

On 26 June 1858 and 2 February 1861 were sold various stocks of Halliwell's publications and reprints.

Cf. *A brief hand-list of books, manuscripts, etc., illustrative of the life and writings of Shakespeare, collected between 1842 and 1859* (London, 1859, 8vo), 30 copies printed.

2 *Catalogue of the books in the Halliwell compartment of the Penzance Public Library* (Penzance, 1880, 8vo).

Hand-list of a curious and interesting collection of early editions of . . . Shakespeare (West Brompton, 1867, 8vo).

Brief hand-list of the selected parcels in the Shakespeare and dramatic collections of J. O. Halliwell (London, 1876, 8vo).

Catalogue of Shakespeare study-books in [his] . . . immediate library (London, 1876, 8vo).

Catalogue of the Warehouse library of No. 11 Tregunter road, West Brompton (London, 1876, 8vo).

Rough list of Shakespeare rarities and manuscript collections at Hollingbury Copse, Brighton (Brighton, 1880, 8vo), 50 copies only.

Inventory of . . . manuscripts and printed books chiefly relating to Shakespeare in the library of J. O. Halliwell (N.p. 1883, 4to).

Brief notices of a small number of the Shakespeare rarities that are preserved in the Rustic Wigwam at Hollingbury Copse near Brighton (London, 1885, 12mo), 2 editions with differences (August and September, 1885).

"A List of Shakespeare Rarities" in *Booklore* (1885); cf. *ibid.*, a paper by J. D. B. . . ., "Hollingbury Copse and its Shakesperiana".

Brief list of a selected portion of the Shakespeare rarities that are preserved in the Rustic Wigwam at Hollingbury Copse, Brighton (Brighton, 1886, 12mo).

Notices of the Shakespeare rarities preserved at Hollingbury Copse. British Archaeological Association (N.p., n.d. [1886], 8vo).

Inventory of certain books and manuscripts, including notes for Shakespeare researches, preserved at Hollingbury Copse (Brighton, 1887, 4to).

A hand-list of sixty folio volumes containing collections made by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps from 1854 to 1887 on the life of Shakespeare and the history of the British stage (Brighton, 1887, 8vo).

Calendar of the Shakespeare rarities, drawings and

engravings, preserved at Hollingbury Copse (Brighton, 1887, 8vo); 2nd edition, enlarged by E. E. Baker (London, 1891, 8vo).

When Halliwell died, it was found that he had bequeathed his papers and correspondence to Edinburgh University, and had left instructions that his Shakespearean library (originally intended for Stratford-on-Avon) was to be offered for £7000 to the Birmingham corporation or, failing their acceptance, sold for £10,000, if a buyer presented himself within twelve years, or after that, by auction, in one lot. His other books, left to his nephew E. E. Baker, were sold by auction.¹

Birmingham did not purchase the Shakespearean collection, which was bought, in 1897, by Mr Marsden J. Perry, of Providence, who re-sold it subsequently, in two instalments, to the present owner, Mr H. C. Folger of New York, who had also secured from Lord Warwick the fine Shakespearean library built up by Halliwell for Warwick Castle from 1852 to about 1870.

Shortly after Halliwell's Quartos were dispersed, there came on the market another Shakespearean library of singular importance and value. George Daniel (1789-1864), of Canonbury Square, was a satirical poet and the editor of John Cumberland's two collections of British plays. His Elizabethan and Shakespearean library was one of the choicest

¹ Sales on 1 July 1889 and 30 November 1891; see also a sale at Sotheby's, 1 July 1895, lots 666-679, and a pamphlet by E. E. Baker (two editions under the same date): *Halliwell-Phillipps library, notes on a portion which will be sold by auction* (Weston-super-Mare, 1889, 8vo).

in private hands and when sold (20 July 1864) brought no less than £15,865.

His handsome copy of the First Folio fetched £716. 2s. and was obtained by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.¹ As for the Quartos, all handsomely bound with Daniel's cipher on the sides, they were divided between the British Museum and a new collector, Henry Huth.

The library of Henry Huth (1815-1878) is of great interest to the historian of book-collecting, not only on account of the care and money spent on building it up, but also for its general quality and all round completeness and for the fact that two excellent catalogues have made it more generally known than any other English library.

Huth's earliest purchases date from his youth, but it was in 1855 that he started buying systematically, mainly through the bookseller Joseph Lilly, who was his agent in auction-sales for nearly twenty years. An annotated list of Huth's acquisitions, still preserved in his family, enables us to follow his activity until the eve of his death. He bought largely from Boone, from Ellis and from Quaritch, also Americana from Henry Stevens, plays from Pearson and Pickering, topography from Toovey, French books from Gancia and Tross, and miscellaneous rare items from Halliwell and from the bibliographer W. C. Hazlitt.

¹ At her sale on 15 May 1922 Dr Rosenbach had to give £8600 for it; it is now in the Folger collection. On the Daniel sale, cf. F. S. Ellis, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part x (1897); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 358-63.

His aim was to build up a general library of rare books and he seems to have been a most generous and methodical buyer. He collected fine illuminated manuscripts, incunabula, including Caxtons and *editiones principes* of the classics, early Italian, Spanish and French literature, and early books on America in every language.

His English books were the best after those at Britwell and were remarkable, as all the other sections of the Huth library, for the choice selection of the editions represented, and the beauty of the copies, chiefly bound by Francis Bedford. The poetry and drama sections were as complete as any man could make them, especially for the earlier periods.

As said above, he bought largely at the Daniel sale (1864); he also made extensive purchases at the eight sales of the Rev. Thomas Corser (1793–1876), the owner of a particularly fine library of

•C•



Collation mark of the Rev. Thomas Corser on the outer edge of the reverse of the fly-leaf. From a book belonging to Messrs Maggs.

early English literature, formed with great judgment between 1840 and 1860.¹

¹ The Corser library was partly catalogued by the owner in the eleven volumes of his *Collectanea Anglo-poetica* (Manchester, 1860–1883, 11 vols. 4to), the six latter parts of which were edited after the author's death, by James Crossley. The library was sold in eight sales at Sotheby's which took place on 28 July 1868, 17 March, 6 August 1869, 23 February, 11 July 1870, 13 February, 10 July 1871, 25 June 1873, and a ninth sale at Capes & Co.'s, Manchester, on 18 December 1876, the total realized being some £21,000. Corser's bibliographical know-

With the assistance of Ellis and Hazlitt, Huth had started printing a magnificent catalogue of his library, with the full titles of every item and exact collations, both entirely novel features in a library catalogue. The work was completed in five volumes two years after his death and has remained for fifty years a corner-stone of British bibliography.¹

Huth's library was continued by his son, Alfred H. Huth (1850-1910), exactly in the same spirit. The new owner methodically filled in any gaps he noticed, adding for instance a nearly complete series of Restoration plays and many valuable items of seventeenth-century English literature. When he died, he bequeathed to the British Museum fifty items to be selected from the library, a most generous thought which enabled the British Museum to secure a certain number of highly important books (such as some Shakespeare Quartos) which it was probably the last opportunity ever to obtain.

ledge of Elizabethan literature was considerable and his methods of investigation were sound. His *Collectanea* have preserved much information not available elsewhere. Corser's books all bear in pencil one or more curious marks, in the centre of the outer margin of the reverse of the upper cover, usually a large C (Corser or collated?), an asterisk and a kind of inverted 7, one above another on a vertical line. The knowledge of this particularity I owe to the observing eye of Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett. On Corser's library, cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 372-6.

¹ *The Huth library, a catalogue of the printed books, manuscripts, autograph letters, and engravings, collected by Henry Huth, with collations and bibliographical descriptions* (London, 1880, 5 vols. 4to). Cf. F. S. Ellis and A. H. Huth, in B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part II (1892); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 409-15.

Among them was the volume of some 70 Elizabethan ballads, bought for £750 by Huth at the Daniel sale. Daniel had purchased a collection of 140 ballads, about 1830, for £50, from William Fitch, post-master at Ipswich. Seventy of these he retained and described in 1856 in his *Elizabethan Garland*¹: these form the series bequeathed in 1910 by A. H. Huth to the British Museum. The seventy other ballads, Daniel sold in April 1832, through Thorpe, to Richard Heber, at whose sale they were purchased by W. H. Miller. In the Britwell sale of 1919 (lot 16), they were secured, for £6400, by George D. Smith, for the late Henry E. Huntington.² In 1912 the British Museum issued a handsome catalogue of the Huth bequest in which the ballads are fully described by Mr Arundell Esdaile.³

1 G. Daniel, *An Elizabethan Garland, being a descriptive catalogue of seventy black-letter ballads printed between 1559 and 1597* (London, 1856, 4to), 25 copies only. These ballads were reprinted by H. Huth for the Philobiblon Society: *Ancient ballads and broadsides . . . reprinted from the unique original copies mostly in the black-letter, preserved in the library of Henry Huth, Esq.* (London, Philobiblon Society, 1867, 8vo), of which another edition (without woodcuts) was issued the same year by Joseph Lilly.

2 Cf. *Alphabetical list of black letter ballads and broadsides known as the Heber collection, in the possession of S. Christie Miller, Esq., Britwell, Bucks* (London, 1872, 4to), a few copies only printed; *Ballads and broadsides chiefly of the Elizabethan period . . . in the library at Britwell Court* (London, Roxburghe Club, 1912, Fol.).

3 F. G. Kenyon, J. A. Herbert, A. W. Pollard, A. Esdaile and C. Dodgson, *Catalogue of the fifty manuscripts and printed books bequeathed to the British Museum by Alfred H. Huth* (London, 1912, 4to).

The dispersal, by Messrs Sotheby, of the Huth collections (1911-1920) was one of the most striking events in the history of the English sale-rooms. Not only was the total realized one of great magnitude (about £300,000, including the autographs and engravings), but the general excellence of the library, and the fact that it was catalogued for sale in one continuous alphabetical series, did much to enhance the interest attached to the nine consecutive sales.

It should be noted that the Shakespeare Folios and Quartos catalogued at the end of part I (lots 1187-1228) were sold privately (it is said for £30,000) to Mr Alexander S. Cochran, of New York, who presented them, in December 1911, to the Elizabethan Club of Yale University.

In the various Huth sales (starting from the second), the biggest buyer was the late Henry E. Huntington, represented at first by B. Quaritch and later by G. D. Smith. But the Huth library attracted book-collectors from every country and the contents seem to have been far more widely dispersed than has been the case with the Britwell books.¹

1 Before the sale B. Quaritch had issued *A short hand-list of the rarer and most important books in the Huth library* (London, February 1911, 8vo). The actual sale-catalogues are twelve in number, as follows:

- [i] 12 June 1911. Autograph letters (246 lots).
- [ii] 4 July 1911. Engravings and woodcuts (341 lots).
- [iii] 15 November 1911. Library, part I (lots 1-1228).
- [iv] 5 June 1912. Library, part II (lots 1229-2596).
- [v] 2 June 1913. Library, part III (lots 2597-3931).
- [vi] 7 July 1914. Library, part IV (lots 3932-4602).

Huth books are easily recognized by the oval book-plate pasted inside the upper cover of each volume. A little above this label will be observed in many volumes the trace of another oval *ex-libris*, Huth having used at first another book-plate, also oval and slightly larger, which he removed and replaced by the one which he finally adopted.

Among the contemporaries of Henry Huth was a notable bibliophile, the enthusiastic architect Sir William Tite (1798–1873), whose fine and valuable library brought nearly £20,000, a large sum for the early 'seventies. Tite owned a choice series of Shakespeare Quartos, mainly from the Halliwell sales, a number of English Bibles and Prayer Books, often completed in facsimile with deceptive skill, a few excellent illuminated manuscripts and some scarce autographs.¹ Most of Tite's rarer books bear his signature or manuscript notes on the fly-leaf.

Another distinguished collector of Shakespeareana was the Rev. Alexander Dyce (1798–1869), well known as an editor of Shakespeare and other English authors. He bequeathed his important library

[vii] 4 July 1916. Library, part v (lots 4603–5205).

[viii] 11 July 1917. Library, part vi (lots 5206–6060).

[ix] 1 July 1918. Library, part vii (lots 6061–7182).

[x] 8 July 1919. Library, part viii (lots 7183–7842).

[xi] 22 June 1920. Library, part ix (lots 7843–8357).

[xii] 27 February 1922. Unsold or imperfect books (232 lots).

To which may be added a sale of Huth duplicates at Sotheby's, 27 March 1906, lots 1–171.

¹ Sale on 18 May 1874 (3937 lots). Cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part vi (1895); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 392–5.

to the South Kensington Museum of which it is a notable ornament.¹

Nor would this survey of the 'sixties be complete without a mention of the disastrous fire at Messrs Sotheby's on 27 June 1865, after the first day of George Offor's sale; the remainder of that collector's library, strong in Bunyan and early English theology, was burnt, together with a whole collection belonging to J. J. Techener of Paris² and a portion of the valuable library of Lord Charlemont, of which the catalogue itself is only known to exist in two or three copies.³

In 1876 (7 June) took place the notable sale of "a magnificent collection of manuscripts formed by a Gentleman of consummate taste and judgment", to use the auctioneer's unpretentious language. The 491 manuscripts described in the catalogue were the property of William Bragge (1823-1884) of Birmingham, a great engineer and, at one time, Mayor of Sheffield. His taste was more for the decoration of the manuscripts than for their contents. The sale brought no less than £12,500, a big buyer being Dr Thomas Shadford Walker, of Liverpool, whose fine collection of manuscripts was sold at Sotheby's on 23 June

1 *South Kensington Museum. Dyce collection. A catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts* (London, 1875, 2 vols. 8vo); *Handbook of the Dyce and Forster collections in the South Kensington Museum* (London [1880], 12mo).

2 All that remains of it is the catalogue of which a few copies were issued *in memoriam* with a black border round the title.

3 The sale was to take place on 11 August 1865; what books were saved from the fire were actually sold on 27 September 1865.

1886, after his death. Bragge also formed an excellent Cervantes library, which he gave to Birmingham, but which was destroyed by a fire in 1879; also a very curious library on tobacco, sold on 1 June 1882.¹

In the early 'forties, the third Earl of Gosford (1806-1864) had formed at Gosford Castle, in Ireland, a large and extremely beautiful library which was sold by private contract in 1878 to the London bookseller James Toovey.

In 1880 Toovey printed a special catalogue of the Aldines,² probably the finest set that had come on the market since the Renouard sale of 1828. The French books, of which the series was exceptionally choice, he sold by auction in Paris (1 May 1882) for some £12,000, as "la Bibliothèque d'un Amateur anglais"; the history, topography, natural history and the important series of books on large paper were dispersed by Puttick and Simpson (21 April 1884), the total for 3363 lots being over £11,000.

When James Toovey died, in 1893, his stock was

1 Another sale of Bragge's books took place on 10 November 1880. There exists a *Brief hand-list of the Cervantes collection presented to the Birmingham Free Library* (Birmingham, 1874, 8vo), and Bragge's books on tobacco are described in his *Bibliotheca Nicotiana* (Birmingham, 1880, 8vo), 200 copies (of which a first attempt had been printed in 1874). For T. S. Walker, cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part VII (1895).

2 *Bibliotheca Aldina* (London, J. Toovey, 1880, 12mo). The price asked for the collection was £4000. It contained the best items from Bishop Butler's collection and a number of fine volumes from the Libri and Solar sales. Many items were in handsome old bindings from the libraries of celebrated bibliophiles.

sold by auction (26 February and 8 March 1894); it also included a number of Gosford books.¹ But his son, Charles James Toovey, had retained the choicer portion of the library, including the whole of the Aldines and a number of books in beautiful bindings. This collection he sold in 1899 to the late Mr J. Pierpont Morgan and it may be considered one of the notable sections of the latter's great library.²

1 Cf. also C. J. Toovey's sale, 11 June 1894, lots 950-1079.

2 *A catalogue of a collection of books formed by James Toovey, principally from the library of the Earl of Gosford, the property of J. Pierpont Morgan* (New York, 1901, 4to), with beautiful coloured plates.

CHAPTER XIII

BERNARD QUARITCH AND HIS CLIENTS

THE history of book-collecting in England during the last quarter of the nineteenth century revolves round the activity of a single book-shop at 15 Piccadilly, London, pulled down some years ago, when the authorities started beautifying Regent Street and Piccadilly Circus—the house of Bernard Quaritch (1819–1899).

The earliest literary record I have as yet discovered concerning this Napoleon of booksellers is the name of one “Herr Quaritsch, B., Buchhandler-Gehülfe in Berlin” who in 1840 appears as a subscriber to Falkenstein’s *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*.¹

In 1847 we find him in London, at Castle Street, Leicester Square, issuing monthly leaflets of newly imported Continental books. Ten years later he enjoyed quite a reputation for volumes on the East or in Oriental languages. In 1868 he issued a handsome bound catalogue, followed by similar volumes in 1874 and in 1880, each one bulkier than the other, till his efforts culminated in his great *General catalogue* (1887–1897, 17 vols. 8vo),

¹ In 1887 Quaritch gave Lord Amherst of Hackney the identical copy he had subscribed for nearly half a century before.

doubtless the greatest bibliographical monument ever produced around the stock of a second-hand bookseller.¹

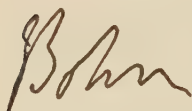
His purchase, in 1873, of the valuable early volumes of the Royal Society, and his rapidly increasing domination of the sale-rooms, had already brought him to the top of his profession, when the great sales of the early 'eighties gave him the opportunity of his life. In the Paris sales of A. F. Didot's library (1878-1884) Quaritch had already been a heavy buyer. In the Sunderland (1881-1883) and Beckford (1882-1883) sales, he carried everything before him, paying the highest prices for the finest books and gathering into his stores practically everything that was worth having in those gigantic libraries.

The climax came when, at the Syston Park sale (1884), he was brave enough to pay £4950 for the 1459 Mayence Psalter.

The Syston Park library had been started, about 1785, by Sir John Thorold (1734-1815), a tasteful collector of Elzevirs. In early French sales (such as the Dincourt d'Hangard sale of 1789), one not infrequently discovers among the purchasers' names the "Chevalier Thorold", as the Parisian booksellers called him.

1 B. Quaritch, *A general catalogue of books offered to the public at the affixed prices* (London, 1887 [really 1880-1887], 6 vols. 8vo and 1 vol. *Index*); *Supplements* 1-x (1889-1897), describing respectively book-bindings (1889), chivalry-romances (1890), theology (1891), classics (1893), manuscripts (1893), Italian books (1894), Spanish books (1895), liturgies (1895), book-bindings (1897) and typographical monuments (1898).

His son, Sir John Hayford Thorold (1773–1831), was truly a great collector. From 1824 till his death, he built up in an incredibly short time a beautiful collection of incunabula and Aldines. Many of the latter he unfortunately had bound or rebound by Ridge and Storr of Grantham, the worst provincial binders that England has ever known. Luckily for Sir John, his incunabula, from the Sykes and similar collections, needed no re-binding.



Note of origin, in the hand of Sir J. H. Thorold, from a book belonging to S. de Ricci.

When they were sold (12 December 1884), they brought some £28,000, of which Quaritch's bill represented an abnormally large proportion. Not only had he secured the famous Psalter, but also the Gutenberg Bible (for £3900); for both items the underbidder was Ellis, acting for the Carter Brown library, of Providence, U.S.A.¹

At every sale, the same story repeated itself: when the Stourhead library of British topography was sold²; when the Towneley manuscripts were

¹ Cf. M. Kerney, in B. Quaritch's *Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*, part II (1892); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 233–5. Subsequent portions of the library were sold on 3 July 1899, 5 March 1923 (lots 1–317) and 9 April 1923 (lots 411–795). Sir John Hayford Thorold pencilled on the fly-leaf of most of his books the name of the booksellers from whom he had obtained them.

² Sales on 30 July 1883 and 9 December 1887. The library had been collected, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1758–1838), who owned large paper copies of the whole of Hearne's works and of practically all the



Book-plates of Sir John H. Thorold

auctioned (27 June 1883)¹; when the Rev. John Fuller Russell's theological library was dispersed (26 June 1885 and 1 February 1886); when the Osterley Park library appeared on the market (6 May 1885), with the Earl of Jersey's beautiful Caxtons. This time, Quaritch bought nearly everything: the sale produced £13,000 of which he secured items amounting to £10,000, including Caxton's *Recuyell* for Lord Amherst (£1820) and Caxton's *Morte d'Arthur* (£1950) for Mrs Abby E. Pope, of Brooklyn. Both volumes are now in the Pierpont Morgan library.²

Quaritch not only bought, but re-bought. In 1887 and 1889 the Earl of Crawford found himself compelled to part with a notable portion of the great library collected between 1860 and 1880 by the twenty-fifth Earl, and, since 1880, by himself mainly through the agency of Bernard Quaritch. In order to raise some £26,000, Lord Crawford

"County histories". Of his collections on Italian topography (formed in 1786-1790 and presented in 1825 to the British Museum), he had issued, in 1812, a privately-printed catalogue: *A catalogue of books relating to the history and topography of Italy* . . . (London, 1812, 8vo), 12 copies only; to which should be added: *A catalogue of books relating to the history and topography of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland* . . . (London, 1815, 8vo), 25 copies only. Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 303-11; W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 313-16.

1 At the Towneley sale Quaritch purchased the famous unique manuscript of the "Towneley Mysteries", afterwards in the library of Sir Edward F. Coates, and re-sold at Sotheby's (8 February 1922) for £3400 to Dr Rosenbach. It is now in the H. E. Huntington library.

2 On the Earl of Jersey's library, cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 312-15; B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part IV (1893); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 170-2.

sold in two sales (13 June 1887 and 19 June 1889) his Gutenberg Bible, many of his finest incunabula and his beautiful chivalry-romances.¹

Fortunately he did not part with the whole of his great library. The bulk of it, about 100,000 volumes, forming a general reference collection of unparalleled importance, remained at Haigh Hall, where it was ably catalogued in eight large quarto volumes.² Not included in this great catalogue

¹ Sales of duplicates took place on 17 December 1892, 27 July 1896 and 2 December 1907 (lots 1-143).

² *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, vols. I-IV (1910), printed books; vols. V-VI (1910), royal proclamations, 1485-1714; vol. VII (1911), philately; vol. VIII (1913), later royal proclamations. The contents of vol. VII have been given by Lord Crawford to the British Museum.

Other publications concerning the Crawford library are a *Collation of Hulsius* and a *Collation of the German De Bry*, both printed at London in 1860, by the twenty-fifth Earl of Crawford and the following works all published by his son, the twenty-sixth Earl:

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Hand-list of the Boudoir books (Leipzig, 1881, 8vo).

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Collations and notes: (1) *Sanderi Brabantia* (London, 1883, 4to); (2) *Fowler's Mosaic Pavements* (London, 1883, 4to); (3) *Grands et Petits Voyages of De Bry* (London, 1884, 4to); (4) *Autotype facsimiles of three mappemondes* (Aberdeen, 1898, 4to); (5) *Catalogue of English Newspapers, 1641-1666* (Aberdeen, 1901, 4to) [by J. P. Edmond]; (6) [French Revolution Bulletins] (Aberdeen, 1902, 4to) [by J. P. Edmond]; (7) *Catalogue of a collection of 1500 tracts by M. Luther and his contemporaries* (Aberdeen, 1903, 4to).

Sacrorum Bibliorum exemplaria tam manuscripta quam impressa quae in Bibliotheca Lindesiana adservantur (Rome, 1884, 8vo).

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Hand-list to the early editions of the Greek and Latin writers (London, 1885, 8vo).

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Upon the facsimile paintings and publications of the comte A. de Bastard d'Estang (London, 1886, 8vo).

was the splendid special library of books on astronomy given in 1890 by Lord Crawford to the Royal Observatory at Edinburgh.

A catalogue of English and French tracts in the Haigh Hall library [London, 1886(?), Fol.].

Early bindings, broadsides, proclamations and ballads exhibited . . . at the soirée of the Society of Antiquaries, 23rd June 1886 (London, 1886, 8vo).

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Hand-list of a collection of broadside proclamations . . . (London, 1886, 8vo).

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of a collection of English ballads of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Aberdeen, 1890, 4to).

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Hand-list of proclamations . . . (Aberdeen, 1891, 14 parts in 1 vol. 4to).

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. First revision. Hand-list of proclamations (Aberdeen, 1893-1901, 3 vols. and Supplement, Fol.) [vols. II-III by H. Guppy].

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of Chinese books and manuscripts (Aberdeen, 1895, 4to) [by J. P. Edmond].

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of English broadsides, 1505-1897 (Aberdeen, 1898, 4to) [by J. P. Edmond].

On the Crawford collection of manuscripts, cf.:

Second International Library Conference. List of manuscripts, printed books and examples of book-binding exhibited to the American librarians on the occasion of their visit to Haigh Hall (Aberdeen, 1897, 8vo) [by J. P. Edmond].

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Hand-list of Oriental manuscripts, Arabic, Persian, Turkish (Aberdeen, 1898, 4to).

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. List of manuscripts and examples of metal and ivory bindings exhibited to the Bibliographical Society . . . 13th June 1898 (Aberdeen, 1898, 8vo) [by J. P. Edmond]; also in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, IV (1898), pp. 213-32.

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. List of manuscripts, printed books and examples of metal and ivory bindings exhibited to the Library Association . . . 26th August 1898 (Aberdeen, 1898, 8vo) [by J. P. Edmond].

Also the various catalogues of manuscripts published by the John Rylands library. For Lord Crawford's printed books, cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *English Book-Collectors* (1902), pp. 399-409.

In 1900 Mrs Rylands, in order to complete her gift of Lord Spencer's books to the John Rylands library, purchased from Lord Crawford (at a price believed to be over £200,000) the whole of his collection of manuscripts, minus his French Revolutionary documents.¹

Finally, about 1924, the present Earl sold to the firm of Quaritch the bulk of his library (about 80,000 volumes), retaining only the sections on fine arts and bibliography and the collection of incunabula and other rare books.

To return to Bernard Quaritch, he again bought heavily, not only in Lord Crawford's sales of 1887 and 1889, not only in the sales of Baron Seillière (28 February 1887, a library sent over from Paris and which brought £14,944), in the two sales of Robert Samuel Turner (1818-1887)², or in those of the Earl of Hopetoun³ and the Duke of Buc-

¹ These were sold at Sotheby's on 1 December 1924, 27 April and 30 November 1925. A complete type-written transcript of the collection is preserved at the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris.

² Sales on 18 June 1888 (over £13,000) and 23 November 1888 (about £4000), to which should be added the £12,500 obtained in Paris (12 March 1878) for his rarer French books. Robert Samuel Turner was an extremely refined collector of the Beckford type, a great connoisseur of French, Italian and Spanish books. Cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part VIII (1896); W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 415-18.

³ 25 February 1889 (brought £6117). His library, which combined the books of the Marquess of Annandale with the incunabula bought about 1700 by the first Earl of Hopetoun from the Jesuits at Strasbourg, contained a few good manuscripts, the Gutenberg Bible and the 1469 Virgil; the latter book was bought by Toovey for £590, and re-sold to Mr Junius S. Morgan, who has presented it with his other rare Virgils to the library of Princeton University. On the Hopetoun library, cf. B. Quaritch, *op. laud.*, part V (1894).

cleuch (25 March 1889); but also at the dispersal of the Thomas Gaisford library (of Offington, Worthing)¹ and at the sale of the great library of manuscripts, incunabula and other rare volumes, formed from 1870 onwards by William Horatio Crawford, of Lakelands, County Cork (12 March 1891).²

Although prices were steadily going down, Bernard Quaritch made desperate efforts to stem the tide and to keep on buying. At the Ashburnham sales of 1897-1898 he was as energetic as ever and brought out at the time a catalogue of incunabula (1897), the like of which had never been issued by any bookseller. When he died, in 1899, he had hardly a penny to his name, but he owned the finest stock in the world.

He had also made, in his clientele, a few extremely good friends; he treated them well and their liberal purchases helped him on many occasions to make both ends meet.

Lord Amherst of Hackney (1835-1908), a great collector of Egyptian antiquities and a fine judge of incunabula, had been a steady book-buyer since the early 'sixties. His series of seventeen Caxtons was one of the two or three finest in private hands. His early-printed books illustrated the dawn of typography in practically every Euro-

1 Sale on 23 April 1890. Were these handsome volumes collected by the Greek scholar Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855), Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, whose philological library was sold on 13 May 1880?

2 Cf. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, *The Crawford collection of early charters and documents now in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1895, 4to).

pean country. His old English Bibles were hardly less complete than those of Lord Ashburnham. To his kind lessons in English bibliography I owe my earliest interest in a difficult science.¹

Lord Amherst's most dangerous rival in the auction-room was his good friend Lord Carysfort, who secured some of the finest items in the Jersey, Crawford, Buccleuch and Ashburnham sales, and whose recent sale of 19 items for £35,550 will long be remembered at Sotheby's.²

Other good clients of Quaritch were the Earl of Rosebery, William Morris, Henry Hucks Gibbs, first Lord Aldenham (1819-1907),³ and Lord Peckover of Wisbech (1830-1919).⁴

1 Sales on 3 December 1908 and 24 March 1909, producing £32,592 (not including the price of seventeen Caxtons, sold privately before the sale for some £30,000 to J. P. Morgan); subsequent sales on 12 December 1911, 17 January 1921 (lots 529-657) and 14 November 1921. Cf. also S. de Ricci, *A hand-list of a collection of books and manuscripts belonging to the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney* (Cambridge, 1906, 8vo). The Amherst papyri, Egyptian, Greek, Latin and Coptic, were purchased about 1913 for the Pierpont Morgan library.

2 Sale on 2 July 1923, by the order of his heir, Colonel D. J. Proby, who still owns a not inconsiderable portion of the library.

3 Several catalogues have been printed of his library: *A catalogue of some printed books and manuscripts at St Dunstan's, Regent's Park and Aldenham House, Herts* (London, 1888-1890, 2 vols. 8vo), with three supplements dated 1898. An earlier and less complete edition had been printed by the owner in 1876. The more recent *Catalogue of the Aldenham library . . . revised and brought up to date* by Helen Rudd (Letchworth, 1914, 4to) is much fuller than the previous edition, but does not entirely supersede it, the descriptions of the rarer items not always giving as much detail.

4 A portion of his valuable library, so rich in manuscripts and editions of the Scriptures, was bequeathed to Miss Algerina Peckover and dispersed in recent sales (Sotheby, 25 May 1925,

I should be guilty of a grave omission if I failed to record here the bibliographical activities of another good friend of B. Quaritch, namely the founder of these lectures, Samuel Sandars (1837–1894), one of the most enlightened benefactors of Cambridge University, to the library of which he gave many valuable books and bequeathed many others. He was himself a bibliographer of no mean capacities, a pupil and friend of Henry Bradshaw, Cambridge's greatest scholar in the field of ancient books; Sandars printed in 1878 *An annotated list of books printed on vellum to be found in the University and College libraries at Cambridge, with an appendix containing a list of works referring to the bibliography of Cambridge libraries* (Cambridge, 1878, 8vo), a book which has rendered good service to every bibliographer.¹

In the same decades flourished yet another great bibliophile, Sir Thomas Brooke (1830–1908), of Armitage Bridge House, Huddersfield, for many years the best customer of the firm of Ellis. After his death, in 1908, his library was divided and has come on to the market in several sales.²

lots 468–495; 29 July 1926, lots 690–691; 12 December 1927, lots 30–174).

¹ A few books from his library were sold at Sotheby's on 3 December 1923, lots 1–202.

² A few single manuscripts of great value were bequeathed to friends or to public institutions (e.g. the British Museum, the Society of Antiquaries, H. Yates Thompson, etc.). The various Brooke sales were as follows:

[i] Sotheby, 29 November 1909: "A Baronet deceased".

[ii] Sotheby, 7 March 1913: "A Gentleman" [Rev. W. Ingham Brooke].

[iii] Sotheby, 24 November 1913: "Lady Brooke".

[iv] Sotheby, 13 December 1920, lots 240-248: "Mary, Lady Brooke".

[v] Sotheby, 25 May 1921: "Sir John Arthur Brooke" (1575 lots, the new owner having added many fine books to his share of Sir Thomas's collection).

[vi] Sotheby, 19 December 1921, lots 316-452: "Rev. W. Ingham Brooke".

[vii] Hodgson, 14 November 1923, lots 502-578: "Rev. W. Ingham Brooke".

Sir Thomas had printed privately 100 copies of *A catalogue of the manuscripts and printed books collected by Thomas Brooke, F.S.A., and preserved at Armitage Bridge House, near Huddersfield* (London, 1891, 2 vols. 8vo).

CHAPTER XIV

THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

AFTER Bernard Quaritch's death, his son Bernard Alfred (1871-1913) continued the business and, with unflagging energy, entirely transformed the commercial situation of the firm. This he achieved with the assistance of a few powerful American buyers, J. Pierpont Morgan, George C. Thomas, Robert Hoe and W. A. White. After Alfred's death, he was succeeded by the late Edmund H. Dring, whose recent decease (1928) has been a great loss to the English book-world.

The Ashburnham sales gave birth to several new libraries. As we have said before, the 250 manuscripts of the "Appendix" had been sold privately in May 1897 to Mr Henry Yates Thompson (1838-1928), who was then building up his famous collection of one hundred illuminated manuscripts. He did not retain on his shelves the whole of the "Appendix", but rapidly disposed of four-fifths of it, selling the English Biblical manuscripts to the John Rylands library and placing some two hundred other volumes in two sales at Sotheby's.¹ As he frequently purchased single items of importance, he discarded on several occasions manuscripts which he thought less valuable.²

¹ 1 May 1899 (177 lots) and 11 May 1901 (19 lots).

² Sales on 14 May 1902 (42 lots), 30 March 1903 (48 lots),

3 May 1904 (lots 1-56), 1 June 1905 (lots 654-697), 17

In 1902, when some fine illuminated manuscripts from the collection of John Ruskin (1819-1900) were disposed of, several passed into the Yates Thompson collection.¹ In 1919 our collector decided to part with his hundred manuscripts, but after three prodigious sales,² totalling nearly £150,000, for seventy manuscripts and twenty-five books printed on vellum, he stopped, retaining about one-third of his great collection of manuscripts and nearly all his printed books. These now belong to Mrs Yates Thompson, who has always been closely connected with all the bibliographical activities of her husband.³ May I add December 1908 (lots 289-296), 28 March 1912 (lots 451-457) and 25 June 1914 (2 lots). Most of these sales were anonymous and several of them contained not only manuscripts but also early-printed books of which Mr Yates Thompson was an excellent judge.

¹ The history of Ruskin's manuscripts remains to be written; although it can be established that he secured several volumes from the collection of John Boykett Jarman, sold on 13 June 1864 (after many had been damaged by water and others too skilfully repaired and repainted), we do not know where most of them came from. As Ruskin was in the habit of giving single leaves from his manuscripts to institutions or private individuals (e.g. the Ladies' College at Cheltenham and the Oxford School of Design), it is not even easy to discover what he actually owned. Some duplicates from Ruskin's library were sold at Puttick's on 30 June 1880.

² Sales on 3 June 1919, 24 March 1920 and 22 June 1921.

³ I have printed myself a brief pamphlet: *Les manuscrits de la collection Henry Yates Thompson* (Paris, 1926, 4to) [= *Bulletin de la Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures*, x, 1926, 42-72], summarizing the history and bibliography of this unique accumulation of art treasures. Apart from monographs on single manuscripts, Mr Yates Thompson had produced, with the assistance of Montague Rhodes James, S. C. Cockerell and others, a catalogue in four volumes: *A descriptive catalogue*

that I have the honour to-day of lecturing from a chair which Mr Yates Thompson occupied, nearly thirty years ago. Have we not in our libraries *A lecture on some English illuminated manuscripts by Henry Yates Thompson, Sandars Reader to the University of Cambridge, with fifty plates taken from ten of the volumes exhibited by the lecturer* (London, 1902, 8vo)?

It is gratifying to English book-lovers that, while some of the finest Yates Thompson manuscripts have crossed the waters, a number of the most valuable are still in England at the British Museum, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Newnham College, Cambridge, in the National Library of Wales, or in various private collections such as those of Mr T. H. Riches, Mr C. W. Dyson Perrins¹ and Mr A. Chester Beatty.²

Another great collector of books and manuscripts (not to mention coins and works of art) was the astronomer Frank McClean (1837-1904), who bequeathed his collections to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, including over 200 manuscripts and many valuable printed books.³

Among Quaritch's clients from 1885 to 1895 I have mentioned the great writer and decorative artist William Morris (1834-1896). He had formed a valuable library of early illuminated manuscripts and illustrated books,⁴ which was sold after his

of . . . manuscripts from the collection of Henry Yates Thompson (Cambridge, 1898-1912, 4 vols. 4to), to which should be added

1, 2, 3, 4 For notes see next page.

death, for £18,000, to an eccentric Manchester collector named Richard Bennett, who had just been spending enormous sums at the Ashburnham sale, purchasing through Messrs Pickering nearly all the Caxtons and many other rare books.

Bennett only collected manuscripts and incuna-

a series of 508 plates, in seven volumes: *Illustrations of one hundred manuscripts in the library of Henry Yates Thompson* (London, 1907-1918, 7 vols. 4to).

1 The Perrins library of early Italian books contains the whole collection of Richard Fisher and his son R. C. Fisher, partly described in R. Fisher's privately printed *Catalogue of a collection of engravings, etchings and woodcuts* (N.p., 1879, 4to) and more fully in the catalogue of R. C. Fisher's library, prepared for a sale announced at Sotheby's (21 May 1906) but which never took place, the library having been sold *en bloc* to Mr Perrins. Mr Perrins's duplicates were sold at Sotheby's on 17 June 1907 as the property of "a Gentleman". His Italian printed books are described in a handsome catalogue by A. W. Pollard, *Italian book-illustrations and early printing, a catalogue of early Italian books in the library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (Oxford, 1914, 4to), and his manuscripts (including a large collection purchased from C. Fairfax Murray) in Sir George Warner's beautiful *Descriptive catalogue of illuminated manuscripts in the library of C. W. Dyson Perrins, D.C.L., F.S.A.* (Oxford, 1920, 2 vols. 4to).

2 Cf. E. G. Millar, *The library of A. Chester Beatty, A descriptive catalogue of the Western manuscripts*, 1 (Oxford, 1927, Fol.), one of the handsomest and most learned productions from the pen of a British palaeographer.

3 Cf. M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the McClean collection of manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1912, 4to); S. Gaselee, *List of the fifteenth century printed books bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by F. McClean, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.A.S.* (Cambridge [1906], 8vo); C. E. Sayle, *Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean bequest, catalogue of the early printed books* (Cambridge, 1916, 4to).

4 S. C. Cockerell, *Some German woodcuts of the fifteenth century* (London, Kelmscott Press, 1897, 4to). Two manuscript catalogues of the William Morris library belong to Mr S. C. Cockerell. Cf. also W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 422-7.

bula. He was a conscientious objector to large folios and never bought a copy of Caxton's *Golden Legend* because it exceeded in height his limit of thirteen inches. What he did not retain of the William Morris library he re-sold at Sotheby's on 5 December 1898, including of course all the large early folios in the library.

In 1900 the Bennett library contained 559 incunabula and 107 manuscripts on vellum, nearly all illuminated, of which he printed a brief catalogue,¹ obviously with the desire to dispose of his collection. To a book-buyer like the late J. Pierpont Morgan the temptation was too strong to be resisted and, for the sum of £140,000, the Bennett books and manuscripts were sold and shipped to New York.

By the acquisition of the Toovey and Bennett collections, and by many extensive private purchases at Quaritch's and elsewhere, Mr Morgan, in a very few years, from 1900 to 1905, had built up a great library of early books and manuscripts, which has since been doubled and trebled, but of which, as it then existed, four handsome catalogues give an adequate description.²

1 *A catalogue of the early printed books and illuminated manuscripts collected by Richard Bennett* (Guildford, 1900, 8vo), a few copies privately printed.

2 *Catalogues of manuscripts and early printed books from the libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram fourth Earl of Ashburnham and other sources, now forming portion of the library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (London, 1906-1907, 4 vols. 4to), namely manuscripts, 1 vol. (1906), by M. R. James (125 copies only), and early-printed books, 3 vols. (1907), by A. W. Pollard and E. Gordon Duff (175 copies only).

In 1904 the Earl of Carnarvon (1866-1923), who had formed a small but choice library of French books of the eighteenth century, sold it to the Paris bookseller Édouard Rahir, from whom he had purchased many of the finest items.¹ Some of these are to be found in the large library of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century illustrated books collected by the late Sir David Salomons (1851-1925) of Broomhill, Tunbridge Wells, and described by the owner in four successive catalogues.²

At least a mention should be made here of the extraordinary library of eighteenth-century French books in beautiful old bindings, formed at Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire, in the early 'nineties, by Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839-1898) and now belonging to Baron James A. de Rothschild.³

In 1905, a small but beautiful English library crossed the Atlantic: the celebrated Rowfant collection was sold to E. Dwight Church, of Brooklyn, for a sum believed to be about £30,000.

The library formed by the poet Frederick Locker (1821-1895), later Locker-Lampson, was unique of its kind. The owner's object—and it is indeed strange that nobody should have had the idea before him—was to secure the masterpieces (and

1 *Catalogue of books selected from the library of an English amateur* (London, 1893-1897, 2 vols. 8vo), 103 numbers in all, for which Rahir gave about £30,000. Many are offered for sale in Rahir's catalogue 6 (April 1908).

2 *Catalogue of the library at Broomhill, Tunbridge Wells*, 4th ed. (N.p., 1916, 4to), 37 copies only.

3 *Catalogue des livres français de la bibliothèque du baron Ferdinand de Rothschild à Waddesdon*, part 1 (N.p., 1896, 8vo), no more printed.

the masterpieces only) of English literature, from Chaucer to Swinburne, in the first original edition of each work. He started, in 1874, by securing the best Shakespeare Quartos in the Tite sale. For ten years he carefully sifted the book-market, buying with wonderful judgment and considerable luck. In 1886, Alfred Pollard, then quite a young man, helped him to bring out a catalogue, *The Rowfant Library*, which has since proved a text-book for English and American collectors. For, as Andrew Lang put it in a famous ballad, "You do not find on every stall, the Rowfant books!"

At the end of his life Locker added to his English library a foreign section, containing the first editions of Corneille, Racine, Molière, Cervantes and other great Continental writers.

These, with other additional purchases, were catalogued in 1900 in an "Appendix" forming a companion volume to *The Rowfant Library*.¹

When Church purchased the Rowfant books, he retained only a small portion of them, very minutely described in the great catalogue of the library of Americana and English books, sold by his heirs in 1911 to the late Henry E. Huntington.² The remainder of Locker's books Church

¹ *The Rowfant Library, a catalogue of the printed books, manuscripts, autograph letters, drawings and pictures, collected by Frederick Locker-Lampson* (London, 1886, 8vo), 50 copies only; *An Appendix to The Rowfant Library* (London, 1900, 8vo), 350 copies printed. Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 418-22.

² G. Watson Cole, *A catalogue of books relating to the discovery and early history of North and South America forming a part of the library of E. D. Church* (New York, 1907, 5 vols.

sold, through Dodd, Mead & Co., to various American collectors, such as Robert Hoe,¹ of New York, W. A. White, of Brooklyn,² William C. Van Antwerp,³ Frederick C. Halsey and Beverly Chew; the libraries of the last two were bought during the War by Henry E. Huntington.⁴

A few other collectors not hitherto mentioned

4to); *A catalogue of books consisting of English literature and miscellanea including many original editions of Shakespeare* . . . (New York, 1909, 2 vols. 4to), 150 copies printed.

1 Library sold on 24 April 1911, 8 January, 15 April 1912, 11 November 1914. These four sales produced about £400,000. Hoe had printed 100 copies of an elaborate private catalogue of his great library (New York, 1903-1909, 16 vols. 4to). The numerous Hoe books in the sale of "a well known American amateur" at Sotheby's, on 10 December 1913, apparently belonged to the late G. D. Smith, of New York.

2 Library catalogued by H. C. Bartlett, *Hand-list of early English books . . . collected by W. A. White* (New York, 1914, 8vo), and more fully in *Catalogue of early English books chiefly of the Elizabethan period collected by William Augustus White* (New York, 1926, 8vo). The collection has since been divided and partly dispersed, a number of fine volumes having been presented or sold to Harvard and Princeton.

3 Library sold at Sotheby's on 22 March 1907; a later sale took place at New York, 1 May 1922.

4 Cf. also Dodd, Mead & Co., *The Rowfant books, a selection of one hundred titles from the collection of Frederick Locker-Lampson* (New York [1906], 8vo) and Dodd and Livingston, Catal. 4 (May 1911): *Early English literature mainly from the Rowfant Library*. A number of Rowfant books were included in the sale of "Rare books consigned from the estate of E. Dwight Church" (New York, 29 March 1916, lots 976-1141). Subsequent portions of the Rowfant library, not sold in 1905 to E. D. Church, appeared at various times on the English market, at Sotheby's, on 4 March 1920 (lots 245-296) and on 1 July 1920 (lots 252-319); at Hodgson's, on 20 July 1922 (lots 552-633). Cf. also on the Locker-Lampson library, A. W. Pollard, "The Rowfant Books" in *The Library*, VI (1905), pp. 309-14.

by us may be here noted in the chronological order of the dispersion of their libraries: Sir Henry Hope Edwardes (fine manuscripts and early-printed books)¹; Edward Quaile, a lover of illuminated manuscripts²; Henry White, the owner of a large library (2347 lots) containing many incunabula (also some fine classical manuscripts from the Phillipps sales)³; Sir Thomas D. Gibson Carmichael, later Lord Carmichael (1859-1926), whose fine Dantes were largely bought by C. Fairfax Murray⁴; the Marquess of Crewe, who has inherited from his father, Richard Monckton Milnes, first Lord Houghton, a fine library of early nineteenth-century literature (especially Keats), to which he has added, but out of which he has sold by auction (30 March 1903) a few beautiful Blakes.

The so-called "Irish find" was the great book romance of 1906. Every scholar knows how, on the pulling down of an old house in Ireland, was found a black-letter volume, the owner of which tore out a leaf and sent it to Sotheby's, asking if it were any good. On being told it was valuable, he posted the book tied up with string, without even a wrapper round it. It contained seventeen pre-Elizabethan plays, several quite unknown, and brought over £2000, when sold piece by piece at Sotheby's, on 27 June 1906 (lots 955-971), the

1 Sale at Christie's, 20 May 1901.

2 Sale on 10 May 1901. Cf. his book, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (Liverpool, 1897, 8vo), illustrated from specimens in his own collection.

3 Sale on 21 April 1902.

4 Sale on 23 March 1903.

two biggest buyers being the British Museum and W. A. White, of Brooklyn.

The same year was sold the L. W. Hodson library (3 December 1906), with Chaucer manuscripts and editions and the bulk of the original manuscripts of William Morris's works; most of the latter were purchased by C. Fairfax Murray.

Charles Fairfax Murray (1849-1919) was one of the most singular figures of the art world. Himself an artist of no mean distinction, he succeeded, although without any large means of his own, in accumulating collections which had cost him something like half a million sterling, paintings, drawings (which he sold *en bloc* to the late J. Pierpont Morgan), illuminated manuscripts (mostly donated to the Fitzwilliam Museum or sold to Mr C. W. Dyson Perrins) and, above all, books of every description. A friend of William Morris and Burne Jones, he owned the finest set of Kelmscott books in any library. His collections of early German, French, and especially Italian books, were among the largest and choicest in private hands. If the Fairfax Murray library had been dispersed in one continuous series of sales, the event would have been truly sensational; unfortunately, the sales were spread over several years and no real system was followed. In addition, many of the finest books were sold privately and not always to the best advantage of the estate.¹

¹ Sales at Christie's on 10 December 1917 (early German books) and 18 March 1918 (selected French and other books), and at Sotheby's on 7 July 1919 (lots 1-185: modern books),

Murray kept some of his books in London, but he had also a few in Paris and by far the larger number were in his Florence home. He had purchased entire the Adda library of Milan and was an enthusiastic buyer at every English sale, generally under the pseudonym of "Mr Archer". He printed privately several catalogues of his library; the four volumes on his early French and German books, skilfully compiled by Mr Hugh W. Davies, are bibliographical monuments of lasting importance.¹

18 July 1919 (valuable books and manuscripts), 20 May 1920 (lots 207-294: miscellaneous books), and 17 July 1922 (books removed from Florence). Many books from Murray's library passed into the hands of Édouard Rahir and of T. De Marinis; those retained by the latter are described in his *Catalogue d'une collection d'anciens livres à figures italiens* (Milan [1925], 4to); those he disposed of will be found in his sales (Milan, 6 May, 30 November 1925, 17 June 1926; more recent Hoepli sales only contain a sprinkling of Fairfax Murray books). In the ten last years of his life, Fairfax Murray bought heavily from W. J. Leighton, of London, who traded under the name of J. and J. Leighton and issued a number of fine and useful catalogues (*General catalogue*, parts I-IX and X-XV; *Illuminated and other Manuscripts*; *Illustrated books*, part I; *English royal bindings*; *Early-printed books*, parts I-III); the Leighton stock was sold at Sotheby's in seven sales (14 November 1918, 3 May, 27 October 1919, 2 November 1920, 7 November 1921, 27 November 1922, 12 December 1923).

¹ *Catalogo dei libri posseduti da Charles Fairfax Murray* (London, 1899, 2 vols. 4to); *Parte terza... biblioteca del Marchese Girolamo d'Adda* (London, 1902, 4to); *A list of printed books in the library of Charles Fairfax Murray* (N.p., 1907, 4to), 35 copies only; H. W. Davies, *Catalogue of a collection of early French books in the library of C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1910, 2 vols. 4to), 100 copies only; H. W. Davies, *Catalogue of a collection of early German books in the library of C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1913, 2 vols. 4to), 100 copies only; to which should be added, H. W. Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his journey to the Holy Land, 1483-4, a bibliography* (London,

At the end of 1906 were sold many of the Duke of Sutherland's books, removed from Trentham Hall; his Stafford House library only came on the market seven years later.¹

A few months later were dispersed the rare books of Sir Henry St John Mildmay (of Dogmersfield, Hampshire), mainly collected between 1800 and 1820.² The same year were sold in a miscellaneous sale at Sotheby's, as the property of "a Nobleman", some sixty early Elizabethan plays and Shakespeare Quartos,³ nearly all of great scarcity and value, several of which have since passed into the possession of Marsden J. Perry and the Yale Elizabethan Club.

It soon became known that the "Nobleman" was Lord Mostyn, but it was only thirteen years later that we realized how extensive and valuable was his collection, not only of early plays (including some unique items, now in the Folger and Huntington libraries),⁴ but also of other rare books and early

1911, 4to), which is entirely founded on copies in the Fairfax Murray library. We may also note here that our collector bought many items from the Patrizi library of Rome (containing the books from the old Altemps library, the remains of which were sold at Sotheby's on 8 July 1907); cf. T. De Marinis, "Vendita della biblioteca d'Altemps-Patrizi a Londra" in *Il Libro e la Stampa*, 1 (1907), pp. 189-90.

1 Sales at Sotheby's on 19 November 1906 and 29 October 1913 (lots 1-656).

2 Sale at Sotheby's, 18 April 1907.

3 Sale on 31 May 1907, lots 425-492.

4 Sale of the Mostyn plays at Sotheby's, 20 March 1919. Two unique plays, purchased by H. E. Huntington, have been reprinted in facsimile by S. de Ricci, *The Henry E. Huntington facsimile reprints*, 1. *Fulgens and Lucrez*, by Henry Medwall;

illuminated manuscripts, all collected by his ancestors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹

In 1905, Sir Sidney Lee received from Dr John Gott (1830–1906), bishop of Truro, a letter stating that he owned a perfect First Folio and a number of Shakespeare Quartos. When Bishop Gott died, his library was placed on the market (without his name being mentioned) in a priced catalogue of Messrs Sotheran, entitled *Bibliotheca pretiosa* (1907), describing his fine collection, not only of Shakespeareana, but also of English Bibles, Liturgies and other valuable books. A certain number of these were sold outright, the Shakespeare Quartos going—of course—to Mr Folger. What remained were disposed of by auction.²

The extremely large library collected about the middle of the nineteenth century by Henry B. H. Beaufoy, the author of an esteemed book on English tokens, was dispersed at Christie's on 7 July 1909, his fine set of Shakespeare Folios being sold on 16 July 1912.

The well-known picture collector Charles Butler was also an enthusiastic, perhaps an over-enthusiastic, book-buyer. His large collection of manuscripts and early-printed books just escaped being

II. Enough is as good as a feast, by W. Wager (New York, 1920, 2 vols. 8vo).

¹ Sales at Sotheby's, 16 April 1920 (books) and 13 July 1920 (manuscripts). On these manuscripts, cf. *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.* (1874), pp. 347–63.

² Sales at Sotheby's, 26 February, 20 March 1908 and 21 July 1910 (lots 282–302).

a really great library; his volumes were fine, but seldom of the finest. Nevertheless, his five sales produced, for 5150 lots, some £20,000.¹

Sixty years ago there was a great craze for Bewick's woodcuts; thirty years later, these had been superseded by George Cruikshank's illustrations, of which large and carefully formed series occurred in the sales of Henry W. Bruton (10 June 1897), Edwin Truman (7 May 1906), and Captain R. J. H. Douglas (9 February 1911).²

The library of Ingram Bywater, bequeathed in 1914 to the Bodleian, was essentially the library of a classical scholar, a lover of Aristotle well read in humanistic literature, but capable of appreciating a fine copy and a handsome binding.³

George Dunn (1865-1912), of Woolley Hall, Maidenhead, was a keen student of palaeography and early printing, and the publisher of the "Woolley photographs" of incunabula, and it is much to be regretted that his choice and extensive library should have been dispersed at auction. During a number of years he had been a generous

1 Sales at Sotheby's on 5 April, 29 May 1911, 18 March 1912, 9 April 1913 and 25 February 1914. Cf. also a sale on 5 March 1917 (lots 349-540, and a sale on 18 July 1921 (lots 409-528) of books returned from former sales).

2 Cf. also the Albert M. Cohn sale of Cruikshankiana (5 July 1920), the sales of Henry Tew Bruton (18 June 1924, lots 1-198: Cruikshankiana) and a final sale of Henry W. Bruton (9 June 1921: Rowlandson drawings, editions of Charles Dickens, etc.).

3 There is a small anonymous privately printed catalogue: *Elenchus librorum vetustiorum apud * * hospitantium* (1911, 8vo).

and systematic buyer, collecting early English law books (his collection, sold in one lot at his sale, is now mainly at Harvard University); mediaeval manuscripts, chiefly from the Phillipps and Ashburnham sales, including a very valuable early French poem "La chançon de Willame" from the sale of Sir Henry Hope Edwardes (Christie's, 20 May 1901), now in the British Museum; early-printed books, of which he had a most carefully selected series, including volumes from the most unusual towns and presses; and lastly, early stamped bindings, which he was one of the first collectors to notice and preserve.¹

1 Sales at Sotheby's on 11 February 1913, 2 February 1914, 22 November 1917 and 9 December 1915, in all 4627 lots, which realized £32,390. Cf. F. Jenkinson, *A list of the incunabula collected by George Dunn arranged to illustrate the history of printing* (Oxford, The Bibliographical Society, 1923, 4to).

CHAPTER XV

THE PRESENT GENERATION

FOR many years, first editions of English authors of the nineteenth century (and more recently those of the eighteenth) have been collected by British and American bibliophiles. In 1894, J. H. Slater's *Early Editions, a bibliographical survey of the works of some popular modern authors* was the publishers' answer to a clearly existing demand for a guide and hand-book.

But it is since the beginning of the twentieth century that the collectors of more recent authors have seen the prices of their favourite books increase by leaps and bounds, the paroxysm—as far as present standards hold—having been reached at the recent Jerome Kern sales (New York, 7 and 21 January 1929), proving that autograph literary manuscripts can bring almost any price.

Among the many collections which have appeared in the London sale-rooms, we may single out that of Stuart M. Samuel (1 July 1907), rich in manuscripts, and the small but beautifully chosen library of T. G. Arthur (15 July 1914).

The dispersion of the library of R. W. Barrett Browning (1 May 1913) brought many Browning reliques on to the market. Likewise the sales of Algernon Charles Swinburne (19 June 1916) and of his friend Walter Theodore Watts Dunton (13

March 1917) gave exceptional opportunities to collectors of Swinburniana. Several auctions of Brontë and Stevenson manuscripts or of early Kiplings might also be noted.

Two important and valuable libraries, rich in later English literature books, have recently been dispersed, that of the late Clement K. Shorter¹ with modern authors only and that of Sir Edmund Gosse with a fine selection of seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors.²

If only for curiosity's sake, I cannot omit the *Alice in Wonderland* sale of 3 April 1928, when Dr Rosenbach gave £5000 for a presentation copy of the genuine first "Alice", dated 1865, and the dazzling sum of £15,400 for Mrs Hargreave's celebrated manuscript of *Alice's Adventures under Ground*, which is now the choicest item in the Eldridge Johnson collection of New York.

Fortunately for British book-lovers, and that in spite of unceasing American competition, the finest library in the world of more recent English literature is still in England and likely to remain there.

1 Sales, at Sotheby's, on 2 April 1928 (lots 1-273), 18 June 1928 (lots 1-166), 19 November 1928 (lots 1-293), 11 February 1929 (lots 1-255) and 10 June 1929 (lots 1-381). A few duplicates had been sold at Sotheby's on 24 November 1920 (lots 812-836).

2 Five sales, at Sotheby's, the fourth containing the collection of plays (30 July, 3 December 1928, 25 February, 29 April, 13 May 1929). Cf. R. J. Lister, *A catalogue of a portion of the library of Edmund Gosse* (London, 1893, 4to); E. H. M. Cox, *The library of Edmund Gosse, being a descriptive and bibliographical catalogue of a portion of his collection* (London, 1924, 8vo).

I am referring of course to the "Ashley Library", the wonderful collection of Mr Thomas J. Wise.

The nine volumes of his stately catalogue, not to speak of his previous bibliographies of Ruskin, Tennyson, Coleridge, E. B. Browning, Swinburne, Conrad, Landor and others, have given every scholar the fullest opportunities to realize how thoroughly Mr Wise has covered his field. His object has been to secure, in first editions, the complete works of all the greater British authors, from Shakespeare's death to the present day, with a large selection of their manuscripts and autograph letters. It may be confidently said that no other library, public or private, possesses so representative and choice a collection of the kind. As regards mere completeness, Mr Wise far outstrips his two closest competitors, the British Museum and the Huntington library. For the nineteenth century, the gaps in his series could be counted on your fingers.

As regards the beauty of each individual copy, Mr Wise's library is unrivalled. He owns the scarcest volumes in "mint" condition, uncut and in the original boards, with the genuine labels. He has spent close on half a century in perfecting his selection, his present copy being, in more than one instance, the third or fourth he has owned. Every volume is uniformly bound or cased in full morocco.

I do not know exactly what Mr Wise intends to be the future destiny of his books; but there is good reason to hope that they will be ultimately located in one of the national collections. It is

England's last and only possible chance to secure a really first class series of its finest books to be preserved as a monument for future generations.¹

Just before the War was sold the curious collection of John Eliot Hodgkin containing many items from the Phillipps sales of manuscripts. The owner had catalogued it under the title of *Rariora*.²

From 1870 the house of Pearson has been active in the London book-market. The founder, John Pearson, separated from the firm many years since, sold his curious and extensive library in 1913, 1914 and 1916.³

The interesting library of Mrs Charles Elton, rich in historical bindings and which had been ably

1 Cf. *The Ashley library, a catalogue of printed books, manuscripts and autograph letters collected by Thomas James Wise* (London, 1922-1927, 9 vols. 4to). Of an earlier catalogue (*The Ashley library*, 1905-1908, 2 vols. 4to), only twelve trial copies were printed. Portions of the catalogue have been issued separately with additions, e.g. those concerning Shelley (1924), Swinburne (1925), Wordsworth and Coleridge (1927), Conrad (1928), Byron (1928), Landor (1928), Brontë (1929) and Browning (1929).

2 Cf. *Classified hand-list of books, prints, coins, pottery, etc., collected by J. E. H., F.S.A., A.D. 1858-1885* (N.p., n.d., 12mo); *Rariora, being notes of some of the printed books, manuscripts, historical documents, medals, engravings, pottery, etc., collected—1858-1900—by J. E. Hodgkin* (London [1902], 3 vols. 4to); sales on 27 April 1914 (engravings, broadsides, etc.) and on 12 May 1914 (books and manuscripts).

3 Sales at Sotheby's on 3 April 1913 (anonymous), 28 January 1914 and 7 November 1916. For his autographs, cf. a sale at Sotheby's, 27 March 1922, lots 512-692. A large portion of the Pearson stock was sold at Sotheby's on 8 December 1924 (1219 lots).

catalogued by the owner in 1891, came into the sale-room in 1916.¹

The following year began the dispersal of the famous collection of autograph letters formed by Alfred Morrison, of Fonthill, probably the choicest in the world. Although we have carefully left aside sales of autographs we cannot but mention this one. The great Morrison catalogue is (or should be) in every library. The sale-catalogue is far from perfect and suffered doubtless badly from war-time conditions. Ten years later the collection would have brought a far greater sum.²

The old family library of the Marquess of Ailesbury, removed from Savernake Forest, and sold on 3 March 1919, contained many volumes with the book-plate of "Charles, Viscount Bruce of Ampt-hill, 1712".

Another old library, that of the Newdigate family, of Arbury Hall, in Warwickshire, was

1 *A catalogue of a portion of the library of Charles Isaac Elton and Mary Augusta Elton* (London, 1891, 8vo). Sale at Sotheby's on 1 May 1916.

2 Four sales at Sotheby's on 10 December 1917, 15 April, 9 December 1918 and 5 May 1919, in all 3335 lots. Cf. A. W. Thibaudeau, *Catalogue of the collection of autograph letters and historical documents formed between 1865 and 1882 by Alfred Morrison* (London, 1883-1892, 6 vols. Fol.); Second series, A-D, no more published (London, 1893-1896, 3 vols. 8vo); *Hamilton and Nelson Papers* (London, 1893-1894, 2 vols. 8vo); *Les Reportes del cases in Camera Stellata* (London, 1894, 8vo); *Blessington Papers* (London, 1895, 8vo); *Bulstrode Papers*, 1 (London, 1896, 8vo). In all, 14 vols. Of an earlier catalogue (*The collection of autograph letters, manuscripts, etc., formed between the years 1865-1874 by Alfred Morrison*, 1874, 4to) a few copies were privately printed. Cf. also *Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.*, App. II (1884), pp. 406-93.

catalogued for sale on 22 January 1920, but was sold by private contract to G. D. Smith, of New York, from whom the choicest items passed to H. E. Huntington; others appear in the seven sales of G. D. Smith's stock (New York, 24 May 1920-16 May 1921).¹

A very interesting, though not very large, collection of manuscripts of the classics had been formed in the early nineteenth century by Henry Ellis Allen (*Henricus Alanus*, as his book-plate calls him) and continued, since the 'eighties, by his son, Samuel Allen. It was sold at Sotheby's on 30 January 1920 (lots 1-115), as the property of Captain Samuel Allen.

The valuable family library of the seventh and last Earl Cowper (1834-1905), at Wrest Park, Amptill, Bedfordshire, inherited by Lady Lucas has been gradually dispersed, since 1920, in several sales at Sotheby's,² in which were included some interesting early English manuscripts; others, of a similar nature, belonging to Lieut.-Col. Sir William Ingilby, of Ripley, Harrogate, were sold at Sotheby's, on 21 October 1920, lots 1-183; on the same day (lots 184-228) were sold the Norman charters belonging to Lady Beaumont, of Carlton Towers, collected about 1840 in Paris, by the

1 Before being sent to America a large number of the Newdigate books were re-bound in full morocco by Messrs Rivière.

2 Sales on 25 October 1920 (lots 516-1037), 19 June 1922 (lots 565-643), 17 May 1926 (lots 771-806).

On the Wrest Park manuscripts, cf. *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.* App. (1871), pp. 4-9.

Yorkshire antiquary Thomas Stapleton (1805–1849).¹

Some very fine eighteenth-century French books, in old morocco bindings, were contained in the “Auchincruive library”, belonging to the late R. A. Oswald, dispersed at Sotheby’s on 1 May 1922.

Michael Tomkinson, of Franche Hall, Kidderminster, owned a large library of old books, with a few choice items; his set of the four Folios was sold privately; the remainder of his collection formed two sales at Sotheby’s.²

A far greater library was that of Bernard Buchanan MacGeorge, of Glasgow, who had sold his set of Shakespeare Folios for £10,000, some twenty years before, to Marsden J. Perry of Providence.³ His extensive library (1484 lots), sold on 1 July 1924, brought very high prices. He had beautiful Blakes, fine copies of all the great English classics and many scarce items in eighteenth-century literature; also some literary autographs of the best quality.

This hasty parade of great English book-sales should end, I suppose, with a flourish on the bugle. What better opportunity could there be than the recent sale at Sotheby’s (29 July 1929) of the “Luttrell Psalter” and the “Bedford Horae”, two

1 Transcripts of these charters or extracts from them, made about 1881, are preserved in the Paris Bibliothèque nationale, MS. nouv. acq. lat. 1428.

2 3 April and 3 July 1922 (in all 2038 lots). The autograph letters were sold on 19 June 1922 (lots 781–819).

3 They are now in the Joseph E. Widener collection at Philadelphia.

beautiful and famous English manuscripts, from Lulworth Castle in Dorsetshire, the first purchased by private contract by the Trustees of the British Museum with £31,500 loaned by Mr Pierpont Morgan, the second, secured by Mr Morgan in the sale-room for £33,000 and generously offered at cost price to the British Museum, if money to buy it can be collected within a year! We all have good hopes that neither of these historical monuments will leave England.

A few notable Scotch book-collectors, from Dr Hunter to B. B. MacGeorge, have already been named. It would hardly, however, be fair to Caledonian bibliophiles, if I did not attempt to single out a few of the more important libraries formed on Scottish history and literature.

The library collected, in the days of James I and Charles I, by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, was sold nearly two centuries later, on 25 March 1816. Books with his signature, especially the rarer satirical tracts of the Elizabethan period, are always welcome finds to any collector.¹

George Chalmers (sales on 27 September 1841, 7 March, 10 November 1842) and the learned bibliographer David Laing,² together with W. H. Miller, the founder of the Britwell collection, were among the first to collect large libraries concerning Scotland.

¹ Cf. W. Clarke, *op. laud.* (1819), pp. 449*-54*.

² Sales on 1 December 1879, 5 April, 20 July 1880, 21 February 1881. Earlier sale on 16 June 1856. Cf. W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 377-81.

They were followed by James T. Gibson Craig (sales on 27 June 1887, 23 March, 15 November 1888),¹ by John Scott, of Halkshill, Largs, Ayrshire (sale on 27 March 1905), by William Beattie, of Glasgow (sale on 10 November 1924), and by the late Earl of Rosebery, some of whose finest books are now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.²

A few words may also be devoted to Welsh books and manuscripts which, for the last two centuries, have been enthusiastically collected by local antiquaries. The liberality of the late Sir John Williams, who, for forty years, built up a great Welsh collection, the nucleus of the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, has centralized in that institution the bulk of the material which, half a century ago, was still in private hands. Sir John Williams secured several large collections, including (1899) the Earl of Macclesfield's 154 Welsh manuscripts and (1905) the famous Hengwrt or Peniarth manuscripts, which he purchased from W. R. M. Wynne.³

The most notable recent addition to the Aberystwyth library is the collection of early French books and manuscripts formed by the learned bibliographer F. W. Bourdillon.

Irish collectors have been somewhat less active, though we cannot fail to mention Lord Gosford's library, and the choice collection of G. W. Panter, of Dublin, sold on 15 July 1929.

1 W. Y. Fletcher, *op. laud.* (1902), pp. 395-9.

2 A few copies are in existence of a privately printed catalogue of Lord Rosebery's library.

3 Cf. J. Ballinger, *The Library*, 1 (1910), pp. 113-43.

It is a pleasant thought, after this long, and I fear tedious, list of names and dates, to discover how public-spirited English book-collectors have been in the course of the last four centuries. Public institutions have done their best, but, in nearly every instance, private initiative has shown them the way. Personal vanity, the mainspring of collecting, has continually given way to local and national pride. In England, to be a collector has nearly always meant—to be a patriot.

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